LITHUANIAN DIASPORA KÖNIGSBERG TO CHICAGO

ANTANAS J. VAN REENAN

UNIVERSITY PRESS OF AMERICA

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TO MY WIFE

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INTRODUCTION

This work presents a picture of an East European people armed with an ideology enabling them to engage in a non-violent confrontation with the first principles of American nationality. The Lithuanians who settled in Chicago after World War II arrived with a diaspora mentality. How their diaspora mentality fared is my theme. The work analyzes their ideological struggle against assimilation into English-speaking Americans with a Roman Catholic identity.

It is neither a history of Lithuania nor a definitive study on either of the two Lithuanian inmigration waves—the economic immigrants (1867-1914) followed by a second wave of exiles (1948-1952). Rather, the work uses the two wave format, preceded by an inquiry into nationality as a condition of mind, as a vehicle to unravel their sense of peoplehood and the raison d'etre of ethnic "isolated fortresses."[1]

Unlike the American experience, no J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur appeared to pose the question, "What then is the Lithuanian?" when this ancient people joined the list of nation-states in 1918. Consequently, it became a task of this work to define their "invisible configuration of values,"[2] which led to an understanding of the Lithuanian sense of peoplehood. What emerged was a nationality formed along ethnic lines fired by a linguistic nationalism.

The ideas of the Enlightenment and Romanticism arrived at a time when Lithuanians had no statehood, but shared in an Eastern European awakening of national consciousness. Of importance in forming a sense of Lithuanian identity were the intellectuals, both Lithuanian and non-Lithuanian. The work traces the origins of their sense of peoplehood to that of their reaction to Polanization and

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[1]Arthur Mann, *The One and the Many: Reflections on the American Identity* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979), p. 177.

[2]Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality* (New York: The Technology Press of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1953), p. 62.

Russification and the Romantic movement's influence upon the East Prussian and Russian intellectuals of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In turn, educators preached nationalism to their students who, as teachers, writers, clergy, etc., became instrumental in carrying the movement's message to different segments of the population. The formal study of the Lithuanian language by philologists also played a major role in that it caused Lithuanians to elevate their native tongue and to recall the past in an effort to restore a sense of pride in their people.

Because culture and language became the twin pillars of national identity to the early proponents of Lithuanianism, the first modern Lithuanian nationalists, like Jonas Basanavicius and Vincas Kudirka, neither saw nor stressed Christianity (or Roman Catholicism) as its core. By developing the notion of a tribal past as the essence of nationality, Basanavicius formulated a vision of nationality akin to a tribal religion. However, this secular view precipitated the clergy becoming instrumental in connecting Lithuanianism to Roman Catholicism. Clerical involvement saw its fruition in the *Ateitis* movement, begun in 1908. Consisting of university students, clergy and secular priests, the movement formalized the relationship between Lithuanianism and Catholicism. In 1923, the movement's ideologue and cultural philosopher, Stasys Salkauskis, finalized the connection. The work not only examines the development of a national identity in the homeland and its effect upon the Lithuanian economic immigrants in the U.S. but also provides a contrast between them and the post-World War II exiles. Exiled from the homeland, the proponents of Lithuanianism—like Jonas Sliupas, Antanas Milukas, Antanas Kaupas—contributed greatly to developing an ethnic identity within the immigrant community in America through their involvement with the Lithuanian press. Made aware of their heritage, these immigrants maintained a relationship with the homeland in terms of economic support. At the same time, economic mobility proved a factor in the rate at which the group became assimilated as did involvement in American politics. The invasion of the homeland, in 1940, triggered the formation of the Lithuanian American Council (LAC) as an ethnic political action group with interests in conveying American rights to the homeland and, later, saving Lithuanian refugees in Europe. In turn, it created the relief organization United Lithuanian Relief Fund of America (BALF) in an effort to aid the thousands of

Lithuanian exiles stranded in post-World War II Europe. While the LAC worked for immigration reform, the emigrés organized themselves under the Lithuanian Exile Community, created an educational system within the camps and, by 1949, drew up the Lithuanian Charter in an effort to preserve Lithuanianism for future generations. Upon immigration to the United States, the LAC allowed the exile community to reorganize itself, in 1952, as the United States World Lithuanian Community (JAVLB).

The post-World War II era saw leadership of the Lithuanian exile community fall to *Ateitis* members, educated individuals with a strong sense of Lithuanianism instilled by their ideology. However, failure to pass on an understanding of their ideology to the following generations, as well as their own failure to understand the first principles of American nationality, created conditions for the progressive degeneration of the diaspora into an ethnic group with a Roman Catholic identity. In 1967, the exile community's failure to understand the dynamics of assimilation became evident by its entrance into the American political arena. By the summer of 1972, the formation of the World Lithuanian Youth Association (PLJS) indicated the community's failure to educate its young in terms of diaspora ideology. In 1974, differences over ideological interpretation of the Lithuanian Charter resulted in the JAVLB split into two factions. Further diaspora erosion became evident upon the creation of a Lithuanian Chair of Studies, at the University of Illinois at Chicago, in 1981. The program based its graduate studies on Lithuanian literature, without a historical continuity that would connect it to the past in order to create a future for itself. What began as a split in ideology among the adult exile community became a stepping stone for the younger members of the group to accelerate assimilation into the host society. The decline of Lithuanianism as a cultural identity barely thirty-eight years after the inception of the diaspora was further borne out by empirical data gathered through a survey conducted in 1983. Of interest to American civilization is the fact that, upon emigration to the United States, that same leadership, in an attempt to continue the feeling of peoplehood, created a diaspora based on linguistic nationalism that challenged the first principles of American nationality.

It is important to recognize that cultural distinctiveness is limited to a minority of intellectuals who do not adhere to popular culture, which is the milieu of the blue- and white-collar ethnic. As

long as the superiority complex is strong, thinking is done in terms of a collective group. The superiority complex is only operative, however, if a counter tradition is intellectually reconstructed outside the mental parameters of the dominant culture. The first wave Lithuanian immigrants, largely a blue- and white-collar class, did not have this option for it was permeated by dominant norms rooted in individuality. Since it moved in a world of popular culture without a high culture of its own, it was a transient group in the latter stage of assimilation via intermarriage and language transfer. In contrast, diaspora Lithuanians were able to operate as an autonomous group because of an intelligentsia with high motivational levels to reconstruct a parallel mental system that would operate outside the dominant construct. By opposing the ideological definition of an American as an individualist and a universalist, their ideology formulated a parallel mental system based on a superiority complex operative in high culture, thereby creating conditions for the subsociety to avoid assimilation. Salkauskian ideology called into being a particularistic cultural history in support of nature and religion. By enthroning linguistic nationalism, it placed a tribal base on par with religion and, in the process of harmonizing the particularistic culture with a universal faith, it changed the universalist religion into a national religion. Consequently, Salkauskian ideology rested on culture that elevated nature and religion, which, in turn, elevated it. This religion was not open to question because it was "natural" and in harmony with God's religion. In essence, then Salkauskis enlisted nature and God in support of an overpowering cultural religion. In the final analysis, Salkauskian ideology gave diaspora Lithuanianism a counter model construct that was at variance with both American and Roman Catholic universalism in the rarified air of first principles with a ready formula at hand to operate a parallel mental system to the American model complete with a superiority complex potent, since both Lithuanianism and Americanism had the power of bringing people "under the spell of the great national suggestion."[3]

Because the leadership within the diaspora did not understand its own ideology, it was incapable of perpetuating the "spell" of a

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[3]Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1944), p. 4.

Lithuanian national individuality. By mentally migrating from Salkauskian thought, they created conditions for the gradual weakening of the diaspora. The 1980 and 1983 surveys indicated a breakdown in the superiority complex, which, in turn, suggested a shift in the "natural" cultural religion to the "natural rights" of the American civic religion in which the definition of nationality was in harmony with a pluralistic society. With a weakened collectivist approach to the host society, national individuality deteriorated, allowing diaspora Lithuanians to mentally migrate toward the American creed, which was not only individualistic but also universalist and therefore not exclusionary on either racial, religious or language lines. Once individuals internalized the civic religion, they internalized the given definition of "natural," which then opened the door to loosening linguistic ties, since they entered a "nationality" that was, at base, spiritually individualist and universalist.

Confusion over ideology fostered a diminished superiority complex within the exile offspring. In turn, this created conditions that rendered the Lithuanian diaspora helpless in resisting assimilation. As individuals within the diaspora, *Ateitis* members led the *Pasaulio Lietuviu Bendruomene* (World Lithuanian Community), the *Ateitis* Federation, the Lithuanian Roman Catholic Federation of America and the *Pasaulio Lietuviu Jaunimo Sajunga* (The World Lithuanian Youth Association) into political activities as well as an ethnic orientation by way of a Catholic identity. Formal movement toward bridging the gap between diaspora Lithuanians and ethnic Americans of Lithuanian heritage also encouraged the acceptance of the American language since it was not perceived as a personal or group threat to those entering a transition stage in transference of both personal and cultural (linguistic) norms of the host society. Consequently, alienation and the move toward politics and an ethnic orientation via pan-Catholicism only served to weaken the diaspora community—the embodiment of the second and most fundamental step in Salkauskis' "three steps of life."

The Lithuanian diaspora's two wave format has its genesis rooted within the tradition established by Louis Wirth's University of Chicago work "The Ghetto: A Study in Isolation" (1926). Wirth's insight and treatment of the clash between two distinct waves of Jews in Chicago provided the conceptual framework for the clash between two waves of Lithuanians in Chicago. Neither "The Ghetto" nor

Lithuanian Diaspora is intended as definitive work on the Jewish or the Lithuanian experience respectively. Rather, both explore tensions between different mind frames. David S. Landes and Charles Tilly, in "What is History?" observe that: "Ethnic criteria of the validity of historical research and teaching are unacceptable because they are anti-intellectual. It may well be that some things are knowable only to 'insiders'; but then there are other things that are especially perceptible to 'outsiders' precisely because they are outside. This is one of the ambiguities of historical research: the scholar tries to get as close to his subject as possible while maintaining enough distance of space and time to afford him a sense of context and significance."[4] One of my mentors at the University of Chicago, Leonard Krieger, pointed out that "a work should never be viewed as a type ('eine Gattung') into which we may intrude our own contribution."[5] Professor Krieger's master, Hajo Halborn, reminds us that "The central problems of a historical methodology or epistemology hinge upon the fact that an objective knowledge of the past can only be attained through the subjective experience of the scholar."[6] As an insider/outsider, the "process" of becoming a Lithuanian or American was not only of academic interest but also one of personal import. History, therefore, became a prism through which problems of selfhood on the personal level were resolved. The inner logic of Crèvecoeur's "What then is the American, this new man?" and Alexis de Tocqueville's "How are they [Lithuanians or Americans] welded into a people?" entered center stage to fire an integrating theme to unravel mental constructs of peoplehood, adding to the store of knowledge within the field of ethnic history.

The title of my work was carefully selected. On first principle grounds, a viable diaspora nationalism must possess and desire to preserve stable ethnic, religious or linguistic traditions markedly

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[4]David S. Landes and Charles Tilly, "What is History?" in *History as a Social Science*, ed. by David S. Landes and Charles Tilly (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), pp. 16-17.

[5]Leonard Krieger, *Ranke: The Meaning of History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977), p. 6.

[6]Fritz Stern, ed., *The Varieties of History: FromVoltaire to the Present* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1973), p. 25.

different from the host society. Because the work deals with the phenomena of ethnicity, minorities and first principles of nationality and culture, the concept is central to a Lithuanian diaspora in its non-violent clash with American ideology in the rarefied air of first principles of nationality. Consequently, the term "diaspora" stays true to the concept of "exile" group since the post-World War II Lithuanians left the homeland with the aim of preserving themselves and future generations as Lithuanians in a diaspora setting. With the acceptance of the word, the reader can differentiate a "diaspora" from immigrant groups who have historically wished to be assimilated into the host society within a generation or two. Thus, the difference between "immigrant" and "emigré" is clearly developed within the manuscript. The terms "immigrant" and "emigré" are not interchangeable in *Lithuanian Diaspora* as each is tied to a peculiar mind frame that determines how people see themselves. The second wave emigrés are seers of a Lithuanian identity fired by a linguistic nationalism that sees nationality as a "condition of mind," not citizenship. Such a mind frame exists at variance not only with American concepts of peoplehood but also with the Soviet model, since both are seen as alien creeds with their theoretical base rooted in a non-ethnic definition of citizenship in which a political system, not an ethnic group, is enthroned. The concept of this dynamic is, therefore, of import to ethnic studies.

The second part of the title, *Königsberg to Chicago*, juxtaposes the two centers of Lithuanianism—Ludwig Rhesa's eighteenth century Lithuanian studies program at the University of Königsberg and Bronius Vaskelis' twentieth century Lithuanian studies program at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Both Königsberg and Chicago are unique in that they are located beyond Lithuania's borders and are perceived to have a historical mission. The former's historical mission is completed, while the latter one—in Chicago—is in process. The work, consequently, links the two centers and provides a vision for Lithuanianism.

The term "Lithuanianism" is used in English since an "-ism" denotes an identifiable ideology—that is, a set of beliefs. As is Catholicism, communism, etc., so Lithuanianism is articulated with its own set of beliefs and historically evolved traditions or characteristics markedly different from those of the rest of the population. As such, it has the potential to question whether biological, cultural and

linguistic assimilation are forms of genocide if they are put into practice against a diaspora community. The key to this non-violent clash is whether the host society is dealing with an immigrant group without an "-ism" or a diaspora community with a historically evolved cultural ideology.

Upon completion of my work, I began to consider where and how it fits into American history and ethnic studies. American ethnic studies, as a comparatively new subfield of American history, has crystallized into an identifiable field from a cluster of monographs on immigration and ethnic groups. However, the monographs stand without pedagogical links to any larger design in ethnic history. As a comparatively new field then, it faces the central problem of operating without a historical methodology that would supply the internal analysis of its content and, in turn, define the special historical field.

If one views *Lithuanian Diaspora* as another work without any links to a larger design, then it can hardly arouse interest outside of the realm of ethnic monographs. I began to ponder on whether the ethnic monograph or, for that matter, the field itself should operate within the paradigm of historical sociology or, indeed, social history since it appears to have developed out of American social history. I came to the conclusion that, as a work on a "diaspora" with an "-ism," *Lithuanian Diaspora* becomes linked to a larger design, namely to comparative history with links to American and Russian history. The work explores consciousness of first principles of nationality and, as such, enlists thinkers to present a world-view of a classic clash between political nationalism and linguistic nationalism. In other words, it is a work on ideas. Once ethnic history methodology centers on ideas (as does the exploration of first principles of nationality), it transcends the "lonely monadnock"[7] of ethnic monographs as well as steps outside of social history (the social science paradigm), because it leads the subject matter outside the mind frame of naturalism and into idealism. Once outside the paradigm of naturalism, the "ideas" link a work on an ethnic group to comparative history. Statistics alone would not have answered the question "What is a Lithuanian?" However, by basing my work on ideas and using statistics to complement these ideas, *Lithuanian Diaspora* took on a life of its own. By drawing

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[7]Oscar Handlin, *Truth in History* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 400.

upon thinkers separated by time and space—thinkers such as Berlin, Chaadayev, Fichte, Soloviev, Deutsch, Hansen, Herder, Hegel, Kallen, Kohn, Lerner, Mann, Mannheim, Meinecke, Schleiermacher, Shafer, Stonequist, Tönnies, Urofsky, Viereck, Wirth, Zangwill, Zimmern, and a host of others—the work pinpoints the elusive first principles of Lithuanian nationality while weaving strands together, for the first time, that lead to Herderian—not Lockean—first principles. In the process, it has placed key figures in Lithuanianism, like Stasys Salkauskis, into comparative history. Consequently, the work has the potential to stir both popular and scholarly attention beyond the confines of Lithuanians.

It is important to make connections between this work and that of others in the field of ethnic history. A survey picture of displaced persons appears in Mark Wyman's *DP: Europe's Displaced Persons 1945-1951* (The Balch Institute Press, 1989) and in Mark R. Elliott's *The Pawns of Yalta: Soviet Refugees and America's Role in their Repatriation* (University of Illinois-Chicago Press, 1982). As companion readers, these works present a historical discussion of the DP experience of many ethnics. On the other hand, Milda Danys' *DP: Lithuanian Immigration to Canada After the Second World War* (Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1986) concentrates on an overview of the Lithuanian DP experience in Canada. However, none of the aforementioned works articulate the mind frame of any one ethnic group. In contrast, *Lithuanian Diaspora* is a work on ideas and, as such, it weaves strands found in the works of Wyman, Elliott and Danys into a cyclical tapestry that sheds new light on Mark Wyman's question, "What is a DP?" as well as explores another dimension of the ethnic nationalism introduced in singular works, such as Victor Greene's *For God and Country: The Rise of Polish and Lithuanian Ethnic Consciousness in America* (Wisconsin Historical Society, 1975).

In the final analysis, *Lithuanian Diaspora* has gone beyond anything written on Lithuanians thus far. Since *Lithuanian Diaspora* provides the key to lift the veil of non-political concepts of nationality, it serves as an entry into the labyrinth of concepts of peoplehood ranging from cultural to civic. This approach lends itself to compare the American experience with that of other concepts on the premise

that ". . . fully to know ourselves, we have to look outside ourselves."[8]

[8]Mann, *The One and the Many*, p. xii.

CHAPTER 1

OLD WORLD ROOTS

The history of immigration to the United States is always the history of emigration from somewhere else. Unless we understand why they left we cannot understand what they wanted to make of America.

—Maldwyn Allen Jones

NATIONALITY AS A CONDITION OF MIND

The American eighteenth century ideology, rooted in the Enlightenment emphasis on natural rights, led to a nonethnic definition of nationality that transcends ethnicity. Hence, the American national creed may be identified as political nationalism since it is tied to a politically inspired national state in which a political system, not an ethnic group, is elevated. Because the American political pattern concerns neither caste, class, religion, nor ethnic group, any linguistic or ethnic group residing within the American political state may be seen as "American." Thus, it is, above all, profession of identical ideals that defines the American nationality. American ideology holds this as "natural" and provides the rationale for defining an American as one springing "from a multitude of stocks, yet [sharing] a common nationality."[9] The Enlightenment concept within the American Creed emancipated human nature by dethroning class along with all particularistic ethnic creeds.[10] Since Americans are defined along such "universalist" lines, a spiritual convergence led to the enthronement of a political concept and not the elevation of a particular ethnic group or culture. Alexis de Tocqueville also linked the rise of an American consciousness with political self-definition in his classic study *Democracy in America.*

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[9]Mann, *The One and the Many*, p. ix.

[10]Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, pp. 8-9.

Such a social evolution stands in sharp contrast to a nationalism that arose despite the lack of a political self-definition and not because of one. The ideas of the Enlightenment and Romanticism arrived at a time when Lithuanians had no statehood, but shared in an awakening of national consciousness. Hans Kohn, in *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins*, points out that

> . . . the rise of nationalism [in the West] . . . was preceded by the formation of the future national state, or, as in the case of the United States, coincided with it. . . . in Central and Eastern Europe . . . [national feeling] arose . . . at a more backward stage of social and political development: the frontiers of an existing state and of a rising nationality rarely coincided; . . . [national feeling] grew in protest against and in conflict with the existing state pattern . . . .[11]

In the case of Lithuanians, politically impotent under the double yoke of Poles and Russians within their own ethnographic territory, language alone enthroned their ethnic identity. Since political expression was unknown and impossible, "The struggle to preserve the folk speech and make it a literary—i.e., a written as well as a spoken language, assumed the character of a life-and-death struggle between rival civilizations."[12] Therefore, a Lithuanian identity does not imply the concept of springing from a multitude of races with their differing languages and cultures where all are melted or smelted into a new nationality. Only one language and one culture form the *corpus mysticum.*

Friedrich Meinecke investigated the modern genesis of East European nationalism in *Historism: The Rise of a New Historical Outlook.* Meinecke pointed out that Johann Gottfried Herder identified language as the repository of a people's tradition, culture, history,

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[11]Hans Kohn, ed.,*The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins* (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1946), p. 329.

[12]Everett Verner Stonequist, "The Marginal Man: A Study in the Subjective Aspects of Cultural Conflict" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1930), p. 63.

religion, wisdom, heart and soul. He reconstructed Herder's steps leading up to the birth of linguistic nationalism, noting that the eighteenth century thinker's ideas germinated while living among the Latvians. The German historian stated that

> It is a reasonable and highly probable assumption . . . that Herder was present at the Latvian sun festival on St. John's Eve 1765, held in the estate of a Riga friend of his near Jägelsee.[13]

This festival still exists among Lithuanians, under the same name.

In describing the Aistian (Latvian-Lithuanian) folk festival, Meinecke observed that

> . . . Herder could witness in a bodily form a clash between the two spheres that Rousseau had . . . set over against each other—nature . . . and civilization. Here, the pressure upon a small subjugated people by a large ruling nation was so striking that Herder soon began to ask himself how long this popular culture, with its original language, songs and customs, could possibly last in face of the corrosive or destructive influence of modern ways. . . .[14]

The Herderian concern for folk culture and primitive dances, rooted in primitive people's pre-conquest era by the forces of civilization, reflects the Rousseauean intellectual construct in which nature, in the form of the primitive man in folk culture, clashes with the "tranquil subjection"[15] brought about by monolithic states, which could only conceive of freedoms in political terms. In Eastern Europe, Herder feared the extinction of downtrodden peoples whose language and culture remained oppressed by political boundaries that ignored

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[13]Friedrich Meinecke, *Historism: The Rise of a New Historical Outlook* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1972), p. 304.

[14]Meinecke, *Historism*, p. 305.

[15]Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The First and Second Discourses* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1964), p. 164.

linguistic and cultural demarcation. Herder's focus on the Latvian people as a nation worthy of an individual identity introduced the hope that the rise of a nation might be built on its envisioned decline. If fear acts as a catalyst, then fear of assimilation may provide the stimulus for a linguistic nationalism. Results of Herder's musings appeared in the first decades of the nineteenth century when ". . . the sons of the East heard a call from the lips of Herder and the professors inspired by him, a call to awake to their own nationality."[16]

In the case of the formation of a Lithuanian identity, Lithuanian historian Vincentas Liulevicius observed that the language contains the spirit of Lithuanianism, which is an inner feeling not tied to any political concept.[17] This same idea of Lithuanian nationality as a condition of mind and spiritual possession appeared in Everett Verner Stonequist's *The Marginal Man: A Study in the Subjective Aspects of Cultural Conflict.* In developing this idea, he referred to Alfred E. Zimmern's 1918 analysis of Vincas Kudirka, author of the Lithuanian national anthem. The excerpt recorded Kudirka's indifference to everything Lithuanian until he read the first number of *Ausra (The Dawn)*, whereupon his "heart filled with new pride and new energy."[18] Stonequist compared this Lithuanian spirit to the birth of a religion. He stated that

> A document such as this one shows how akin nationality is to religion. To conceive of nationality in a merely formal, legal, or political sense is to miss completely its meaning.[19]

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[16]Meinecke, *Historism*, p. 305.

[17]Interview with Lithuanian historian Vincentas Liulevicius, May 2, 1982.

[18]Stonequist, *The Marginal Man*, pp. 64-65. In *Nationalism: Myth and Reality*, Shafer writes that Zimmern, an authority on international politics, saw self-respect as "the one force whose appeal is instinctive and universal" and believed that the one force capable of stimulating and maintaining it was nationality (p. 51).

[19]Stonequist, *The Marginal Man*, p. 65.

Stonequist saw this concept of nationality reinforced by Zimmern's distinction between nationality and statehood:

> . . . Nationality, like religion, is subjective; statehood is objective. Nationality is psychological; statehood is political. Nationality is a condition of a mind; statehood is a condition in law. Nationality is a spiritual possession; statehood is an enforceable obligation. Nationality is a way of feeling, thinking and living; statehood is a condition inseparable from all civilized ways of living.[20]

Consequently, Zimmern defined nationality as "a body of people united by a corporate sentiment of peculiar intensity, intimacy, and dignity, related to a definite home-country."[21] Stonequist further elaborated on Zimmern's definition by pointing out that:

> Even the notion of "patriotism" is inadequate to express this meaning—for patriotism may include simply the loyalty of the citizen to his state, something which the newly naturalized immigrant may feel. Nationality, however, refers to the historical culture of the group, which nurtures and shapes the personality of the individual and out of which he draws his most inspiring ideals and purposes. To be "de-nationalized," then, involves the denial of part of one's deepest sentiments, the amputation of a portion of one's intimate self.
>
> The awakening of nationality, in such an instance as that of Kudirka, awaits upon a favorable social situation. The restlessness resulting from the oppression of linguistic groups during the past century only needed leadership to develop into a nationalist movement: these oppressed groups were not merely different in language and culture—they

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[20]Stonequist, *The Marginal Man*, pp. 65-66.

[21]Stonequist, *The Marginal Man*, p. 66.

> were different in social condition and status. They were peasants.[22]

The same "spiritual" dynamic also emerged in the works of the Danish writer Äge M. Benedictsen (1866-1918), who, after touring late nineteenth century Lithuania, wrote that language is the Lithuanian banner. In *Lithuania: The Awakening of a Nation* (Copenhagen, 1924), he concluded that national identity exists outside the framework of an official nation, recognized flag or a political creed.

The Lithuanians organized themselves into a state called Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in 1236, after attacks by Christian Crusaders. A failed attempt at baptism, in 1251, left it as the last pagan state in Europe until 1385 when Grand Duke Jogaila agreed to baptism in exchange for becoming King of Poland and, as king and grand duke, opened the door to Christianization by Polish priests. Paganism, however, persisted outside court circles and crusading Teutonic Knights continued to attack Lithuania on the grounds that it was still a pagan land until their defeat by allied Lithuanian/Tartar-Polish forces in 1410.

From 1410 until 1569, Lithuania grew to four times the size of Poland but failed to establish itself as a separate kingdom. A formal union between the two states, in 1569, created the "Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth." Lithuania retained its own administrative institutions but, with Polanization of the upper classes, "Lithuanian" became a territorial rather than ethnic designation. With the subsequent partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in 1795, between German Prussians, Austrians and Russians, the bulk of ethnographic Lithuania became a Russian province with its peasantry effectively isolated from its own intelligentsia.

Lithuanian peasant masses, linguistically isolated on their own soil from the educated class, remained largely a pagan people into the seventeenth century, completely bypassed by the Age of Reason. Lithuanians often had their land described as "India septenkionalis" (North India) by despairing Jesuits who felt that they were in a non-European area among a people where the masses were saturated in

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[22]Stonequist, *The Marginal Man*, p. 66.

paganism. Pagan followers of the high priest *(kunigas)* Vaidila were publicly burned as late as 1716.[23]

Upon entrance into the modern era—that is, the nineteenth century—Lithuanians found themselves without a native educated class, a situation that can be attributed to the fact that education, as well as all professions, were under control of Poles or Polanized Lithuanians while military authority rested in Russian hands. At the same time, as noted by Vytautas Merkys, a Soviet Lithuanian historian,

> The Polanized gentry and clergy of Lithuania viewed the Lithuanian language as a serf tongue. . . . The Lithuanian language, like the Lithuanian peasant himself, was often an object of scorn.[24]

Hence, the "favorable social conditions," referred to by Stonequist, existed. They awaited only the right leadership to develop a national movement.

Traditions and language were the twin pillars of national identity to the first proponents of Lithuanianism. As a result, the first modern Lithuanian nationalists, such as Jonas Basanavicius (1851-1927) and Vincas Kudirka (1858-1899), did not stress Christianity (or Roman Catholicism) as the core of nationality. Secular Romanticism and the nationalism of such figures as the atheist writer Joseph Ernest Renan (1823-1894) served as an appropriate substitute. To Basanavicius, the nation lived through its language and culture. Consequently, when Basanavicius' newspaper *Ausra (The Dawn)* and Kudirka's newspaper,*Varpas (The Bell)* sought to revitalize the Lithuanian language by reaching for a pre-Christian tribal past, the exultation of their linguistic heritage was seen to be, at least in part, a contradistinction to Roman Catholic universalism and its policy of amalgamation of diverse ethnic groups. The first Lithuanian nationalist

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[23]Juozas Jakstas, "Lithuania to World War I," in *Lithuania 700 Years*, ed. by Dr. Albertas Gerutis (New York: Manyland Books, 1969), pp. 87-89.

[24]Vytautas Merkys, "Lietuviu nacionalinio judejimo XIX a. socialines-ekonomines priesastys," in *Lietuvos T.S.R. istorijos bruozai* edited by Juozas Jurginis (Kaunas, Lithuania: T.S.R., 1965), p. 59.

newspaper, *Ausra (The Dawn)* published in Ragaine, East Prussia, in March 1883, boldly stated that

> . . . our newspaper will be only secular. . . . we will concern ourselves with spreading brotherly news about our ethnic tribes [*tautos*], ancient events, and also about our activity as Lithuanians, in an era of new light.[25]

This desire for a tribal past and its relationship to an independent national identity was articulated by Renan who saw

> A nation . . . [as] a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in reality are one, make up that soul, that spiritual principle. One is the possession in common of a rich inheritance of memories, the other is the actual desire of living together, the will to turn to account together the inheritance bequeathed individuals.[26]

To Basanavicius, then, the nation lived through its language and culture—not through Christianity. This phenomenon was apparent in his own experience. He described how he moved from the realm of myth to confirm his national consciousness as a youth in the village of Oskabaliai:

> Together with tales about the crusaders, the mounds held a fascination for me since my earliest days. Close to Oskabaliai, in the fields of Piliakalniai village stands a beautiful mound. Since my youth I had begun paying visits to this large and very beautiful mound which, brooding in an area of untold beauty

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[25]Lithuanian Historical Society, *Auszra, 1883-1884: Laikrasztis, iszleidziamas per Dra. Bassanawicziu* (Chicago: M. Morkunas Printing Company, 1983), pp. 5-6.

[26]Boyd C. Shafer, *Nationalism: Myth and Reality* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1955), p. 243.

> and peacefulness, stands on the shore of Aista River. In my youth I heard tales of bewitched beautiful maidens imprisoned in the mound. . . . I . . . became acquainted with the Pajevonys mound, . . . Kaupiskis mound, near the Prussian border . . . [and] mounds at Rudamina, Lakynai and others. On the hills, I can confidently assert, my Lithuanian consciousness was confirmed.[27]

Basanavicius gradually developed the notion of a tribal past as the essence of Lithuanian nationality. In that respect, he formulated a vision of nationality akin to a tribal religion in much the same way as Zimmern, Stonequist and Renan.

Historical conditions surrounding Lithuanian linguistic nationalism make the American definition of nationality in which a common nationality springs "from a multitude of stocks, . . . [sharing] a common nationality" an alien creed. Because a Lithuanian identity developed not out of a political culture but out of circumstances when national feeling arose at a backward stage of social and political development, it never became a political creed. Instead, it evolved into a militant linguistic nationalism operating outside American political nationalism. This is of importance to American immigration historians since Lithuanian linguistic nationalism, transplanted on American soil, becomes an ideological opponent to linguistic and biological assimilation.

EAST PRUSSIAN ROOTS

During the eighteenth century, intellectuals in Western Europe began to take a special interest in the native cultures and languages of the forgotten peoples of Europe—an interest that led to the national revival of such peoples. The classic example of Turkish-dominated Greeks may be cited. While the Turks held the mainland, Venice held a few Greek islands under its control, thereby offering a geographic center from which a Greek revival movement could be established once Western intellectuals focused attention on the legendary Greeks.

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[27]Jonas Puzinas, "Dr. Jonas Basanavicius—Founder of *Ausra*." *Lituanus* 23 (Fall 1977), p. 6.

The situation of the Greeks, who entered the modern era without a developed state system of their own, without a flourishing literature, and without being an integral part of the intellectual ferment of Europe, is analogous to that of other primitive peoples such as the ancient Lithuanians of Eastern Europe. However, the case of the Lithuanians, laboring under Russian rule in the nineteenth century, was complicated by the fact that their native nobility had been Polanized during the period of the Federation with Poland. By the third Partition of 1795, the Lithuanian peasantry was effectively isolated from its own intelligentsia. Despite Russian domination, compounded by this historic isolation, the Lithuanians experienced a rebirth in language and literature and entered the twentieth century with a native intelligentsia.

To further understand the Lithuanian national revival, one must examine the relationship of Western intellectuals to the dynamics of this rebirth. Lithuanians, like the Greeks, could call up the ancient past as a weapon for a national awakening. Just as Western intellectuals centered their ideology around a concept that the Greeks were descendants of the West's intellectual origins so, similarly, did non-Lithuanian champions of Lithuania stress that these oppressed people held the linguistic roots to all the languages of the Indo-European peoples. This linguistic theory began in eighteenth century Germany at a time when philology and history were almost identical.

The inquiry in philology became a political-historical weapon in the Lithuanian national movement. Just as the "Greek ancients" harked back to the glorious Greek era, so did the Lithuanians, with the aid of philologic historians, use a weapon brought forth by intellectual inquiry. Thus, philology-history was harnessed by champions of a Lithuanian idea and sustained over an indefinite period of time even with the bulk of the ethnographic area of these people under colonial domination. This was possible because the intellectual, by definition, is beyond government interests and, hence, a potent internationalist and cosmopolitan by virtue of free-ranging intellect. This free-ranging intellect was put to use when the philologic-historians turned to the Lithuanian language.

In order to fully understand the beginnings of a Lithuanian spirit through philology, one must recognize the role of the Prussian-Lithuanians in its evolution. Between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Germans conquered and colonized the area's original

Prussian tribesmen (fig. 1). With the passage of time, the colonizers took the name of the original inhabitants, the Prussians *(Prusai)*, for themselves. Despite Germanization, however, the northeastern counties of the area continued to have peasants who were closely related to the Samogitians *(Zemaiciai)* and the Highlanders *(Aukstaiciai)* of Lithuania Major. The physical proximity and the close ties between the inhabitants of the areas mentioned above provided the basis for the initiation of a Lithuanian movement.

The influences of Pietism and Romanticism, by way of the intellectual community in Königsberg, became apparent in the genesis of Lithuanianism. Pietism developed out of the protest of Protestantism against the ecclesiastical corruption of the Christian church in the sixteenth century. During the enlightenment, the Pietist Movement paralleled the religious skepticism of many European intellectuals. Their influence, then, was confined to the intellectual field and to the educated class.

Pietism contributed to the development of an intellectual climate favorable to nationalism. Because it stressed emotion, variety, enthusiasm for religion and its essential part in culture, and elevated individuality, it was easily applied to nationality. The Protestant theologian, Friedrich Ernst Daniel Schleiermacher (1768-1834), declared that

> God has pointed out to every people its particular mission on earth and has breathed into it its particular spirit, in order that in this way He may be glorified by each one through its particular mode.[28]

In a series of sermons, from 1806 to 1813, Schleiermacher stated that "Christianity demands attachment to the nation" and those who did not recognize or feel this unity would become "[aliens] in [the] house of God."[29]

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[28]Carlton J. H. Hayes, *Nationalism: A Religion* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), p. 47.

[29]Schafer, *Nationalism: Myth and Reality*, p. 142.

A like view was also shared by Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) who saw the nation as true evidence of divine powers. To Fichte,

> Only when each people, left to itself, develops and forms itself in accordance with its own peculiar quality, and only when in every people each individual develops himself in accordance with that common quality, as well as in accordance with his own peculiar quality—then, and then only, does the manifestation of divinity appear in its true mirror as it ought to be.[30]

The proposition, then, that God created the nations as part of His divine plan did not solely originate with Herder. That same idea has been articulated in many different ways by thinkers across time and space.

Pietism was directly related, if not a phase of, the Romantic movement. As a revolt against the artificiality of Classicism, Romanticism, too, stressed individuality and the importance of the common man—thus, its back-to-nature emphasis. In the final analysis, the Enlightenment gave way to Romanticism, which continued the enthusiasm of the Pietists on a different plane in that individuality became an essential element in the mystical body of the national community.

The Pietist influence then, as a counterpart to the proto-Romantic movement, which, in turn, had an impact on the philological inquiry of the Lithuanian language in the nineteenth century, became a moving force in the evolution of Lithuanianism. As literacy rose in the eighteenth century, the Pietist Movement within the German church actively worked in the preparation of religious literature in Lithuanian. Since the German Protestant church stressed the idea that the Bible should be taught in the language of the faithful, it naturally advocated that candidates for pastoral work be taught Lithuanian. Ultimately, this philosophy helped to establish a Lithuanian language seminar in the theological faculty of the University of Königsberg in 1723. So as to provide religious literature in Lithuanian, the church initiated work in

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[30]Schafer, *Nationalism: Myth and Reality*, p. 19.

Lithuanian linguistics in order to provide written materials for one hundred Lithuanian-language Lutheran churches and three hundred Lithuanian schools scattered across northeastern East Prussia.

The Protestant church's view that the native language could become a religious language not only initiated work in Lithuanian linguistics but also created conditions whereby a pool of Prussian-Lithuanian translators developed from the ranks of those in the Lithuanian Seminar program. Because the Prussian-Lithuanian *literati* advanced the "tribe" as a frame of reference, Lithuanian literary themes and folk motifs, emanating from peasant life, began to penetrate German academic circles. As a result, Lithuanian-speaking Prussians began to have a literate class drawn from among their own ranks for the purpose of studying Lithuanian. The dominant German Pietist spirit that aided non-German Prussians was captured in the thoughts of Schleiermacher who ". . . believed that only within his nationality could a man make himself completely understood, and work with all his energy to serve the good."[31] This notion became the driving force in the quest to instill a *tauta* or tribal feeling among the Lithuanian speaking peasantry. Since the Prussians were also a diaspora contained by German society, the Lithuanian folk language became a standard bearer of national identity.

A further interest in Lithuanian arose when many eminent German writers of the eighteenth century became attracted to Lithuanian popular poetry. This movement was initiated by Philipp Ruhig (Pilypas Ruigys, 1675-1749) when he reproduced in his essay on the language, *Betrachtung der litauischen Sprache in ihrem Ursprünge, Wesen und Eigenschaften* (Königsberg, 1745), three popular Lithuanian songs with favorable comments. In Germany, this work generated a powerful interest in Lithuanian songs and poetry because

> . . . a reaction against pseudo-classicism had just set in, headed by Lessing and Herder, who were the first to appreciate the distinction of Lithuanian poetry, which, in many respects, satisfied the aesthetic exigencies of the time. In his

[31] Schafer, *Nationalism: Myth and Reality*, p. 50.

> *Literaturbriefe* of 1750, Lessing has expressed his enthusiasm for the Lithuanian songs [*dainos*].[32]

Ruhig's work, as well as the interests of Germans, directly contributed to the beginnings of a Lithuanian national consciousness. As Lithuanian folklore became an interest of a literary group in Königsberg, it served to instill a national pride in a number of literary men of the time who were able to speak Lithuanian. It was also while at Königsberg that Professor J. A. Kreutzfeld (1745-1784), an ardent collector of Lithuanian folklore, translated many Lithuanian folk songs [*dainos*] that were circulated by the East Prussian press. After Lessing, Herder continued the interest in the Lithuanian *dainos*. Herder knew J. A. Kreutzfeld well enough to have asked him to provide and translate six of the eight Lithuanian folk songs in his collection *Stimmen der Völker in Lieder* (1778-1779). Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), pleased with one of these translations, introduced it under the title of "Die Fischerin" in his *Singspiel.*

Though folklore did not initially have a strong influence on the eighteenth century cultural life of the people, it eventually penetrated both secular literature and religious Lithuanian literature. Thus, many hymns, because of their often emotional as well as lyrical expressions, came close to the secular when they strayed from purely religious motifs. During this period of new interest in the Lithuanian language and its folklore, Antanas Schimmelpfennig (1699-1763) composed hymns, edited hymnals and wrote occasional poetry. Some critics feel that the declaration of national pride found in Schimmelpfennig's secular poetry had an undeniable influence on his colleague Kristijonas Donelaitis (1714-1780).

Contemporary Lithuanians credit Kristijonas Donelaitis as being the foremost articulator of the Lithuanian soul. Donelaitis came to the faculty of theology at the University of Königsberg in 1736 and, during the height of new interest in the Lithuanian language, acquainted himself with the basics of his native tongue via the Lithuanian Seminar. After graduation, he became pastor of the little Prussian-Lithuanian town of Tolminkiemis (Goldap) where he served

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[32]E. J. Harrison, *Lithuania 1928* (London: Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ltd., 1928), p. 103.

until his death in 1780. As a staunch representative of passive resistance to Germanization, he contributed to the beginnings of an awakening of Lithuanian national consciousness in the eighteenth century.

Donelaitis concentrated his literary talents on awakening the native Lithuanian consciousness. One of the most important achievements of Lithuanian poetic expression is his pastoral poem—"The Four Seasons: The Joys of Spring, The Labor of Summer, The Wealth of Autumn and The Cares of Winter." *(Metai,* written between 1765 and 1775). The work remained in manuscript form until collected, pieced together, and given its present name in 1818. The poem, composed in classical hexameter, is a perceptive study of nature and Lithuanian peasant life. Written in order to educate his flock, Donelaitis' poetry reflects his rich experience and religious conscience, as well as his awareness of the ethnic conflict between the Germans and native Prussian-Lithuanians. He interpreted peasant ideology and defended it by directing all his wit and satire against the nobles who exploited and created misery for his beloved Prussian-Lithuanians. Incorporating local color, he developed themes dealing with loss of ethnic identity, love of nature, the degradation of city life, and the relation between nature and folk life, which place him under the dual influences of Pietism and the aesthetics of Herder.

Further studies in Lithuanian folklore and *dainos* were generated when Donelaitis' work was published by Professor Ludwig Rhesa (Reza) in 1818. He also published, in 1825, an excellent collection of Lithuanian folk songs entitled *Dainos oder litauische Volkslieder.* The work contained eighty-five folk songs along with German translations, melodies of seven songs with specific commentaries, and an extensive essay about the Lithuanian folk songs. Because Rhesa did not try to classify the songs, examples with various motifs ranging from love to Lithuanian history and mythology appear in his work. Thus the work not only had an aesthetic value but also was symbolic of the roots of Lithuanianism. Rhesa's individual poetry, published in 1809 and 1825 under the title of *Prutena oder preussische Volkslieder I-II,* had romantic characteristics in that it dealt with Lithuanian folklore motifs and themes. His sentimental treatment of ancient motifs as well as his use of mythology and view of good and evil in life presented the past romantically.

While at the University of Königsberg, Rhesa studied philosophy under Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), whose ideas greatly influenced him. Another professor who influenced Rhesa was the orientalist J. Hasse (1759-1806), who taught classical literature and oriental languages and had an understanding of Herder's aesthetics. It was Hasse who directed Rhesa's academic interests. Rhesa passed a special examination in 1807 wherein he defended his dissertation on Kant's philosophy.

Kant's influence on Rhesa can be clearly seen. Because Kant was interested in reconciling the universal with the particular, he "only very rarely showed an interest in nationality." However, it was not unusual for him to plead for the rights of national minorities since he felt that

> The preservation of small and ancient nationalities appealed to him not only for reasons of scholarship, but because he felt that a state would profit from minorities which faithfully preserved their national character and traditions, and because the educational enlightenment of national and linguistic minorities could much better be accomplished in their own mother tongue.[33]

Kant's interests in the particular, that is, in the rights of minorities in this instance, were also revealed when he wrote a significant preface to *Litauisch-deutsches und Deutsch-litauishes Wörterbuch (Lithuanian-German and German-Lithuanian Dictionary)* (1800), written by lexicographer and religious writer Christian Gottlieb Mielcke (Milkus, ca. 1736-after 1805). In the preface "Nachschrift eines Freundes," Kant stated that "It [the Lithuanian language] must be preserved, for it possesses a key which solves the enigmas not only of philosophy, but also of tribe migrations."[34] He showed his interest in and recorded his plea for the right of minorities to exist as a people.

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[33]Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism*, p. 402.

[34]Theodore S. Thurston, "Lithuanian Language," *Lithuanian Days* (January 1962), p. 2.

Kant's dual concerns, those of reconciling the particular to the universal and visa-versa, may have been due to a marginal man profile—that is, his own interest in and possible background from a minority culture. Kurt Rossmann, in his work *Immanual Kant: A German Philosopher* (Bonn, W. Germany: Bonner Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1974, p. 4) suggested that Kant originated from a family of humble Prussian-Lithuanian saddlemakers who lived on both sides of the East Prussian-Lithuanian border.

After securing a professorship in 1810, Rhesa's recognition as a serious scholar resulted from work written in Latin entitled *The First Steps Toward Christianity Among the Lithuanians* (*Apie pirmuosius krikscionybes singsnius lietuviu tarpe* in Lithuanian and *Liber de Trimos Gressibus Christianitatis inter Lituanos* in Latin). Named ordinarinius professorius in 1818, he also became director of the Lithuanian Seminar, deacon of theology and prorector of the university. Though Rhesa used the German version of his last name, he emphasized his Lithuanian roots as substantiated by his 1810 autobiography. To show this origin, he added to his middle name Gediminas. His feelings for the Lithuanian language were further exemplified upon the one hundredth anniversary of the Königsberg Lithuanian Seminar, on December 23, 1823, for which he wrote an eigthy-one line poem in hexameter: "The Sun Has Dawned and Set Already One Hundred Years" *(Simtas jau metusaulele tek ejo leidos).* In it, he declared that the faculty and theology students, as well as evangelical pastors of Lithuania Minor, should love and seek to preserve the Lithuanian language.[35] Of most importance is the fact that in 1837 Rhesa took in the future philologist, Friedrich Kurschat (Kursaitis, 1806-1884), and made it possible for him to get a university education. Just as Rhesa fostered Lithuanian language interests, so Kurschat continued in the same vein.

Even though Rhesa devoted his life to raising the prestige of the Lithuanian language, he nevertheless wrote in German. Some scholars speculate that he utilized the German language in order to reach a wider literary audience. It was for that same wider literary audience that Rhesa translated Kristijonas Donelaitis' "The Seasons"

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[35]Pranas Naujokaitis, *Lietuviu literaturos istorija nuo Mazydo iki Maironio,* 5 vols. (Brooklyn, New York: Franciscan Fathers Press, 1973), 1:141.

(Metai) into German. His success and influence on philological interests in Lithuanian poetry and folklore can only be measured when we consider their effect on philologists. For example, August Schleicher (1821-1868), upon reading Donelaitis' poem, referred to it in his *Handbuch der litauischer Sprache*:

> How sad it is that such a language is perishing which, in the perfection of its form, could compete with the creations of the Greeks, Romans and Indians.[36]

Also of note is the Königsberg philologist Georg Nesselman (1811-1881), who published a collection of 410 songs and fifty-three melodies entitled *Litauischer Volkslieder*, in Berlin in 1853. The most significant aspect of this work is that it contained all the *dainos* thus far published in various periodicals, including those of Ludwig Rhesa, Simonas Stanevicius (1799-1848) and Simonas Daukantas (1793-1864). In 1851, Nesselman had published a Lithuanian dictionary and in 1869 he translated into German and published Donelaitis' "The Seasons."

Rhesa's work was carried on by another Prussian-Lithuanian, Friedrich Kurschat (1806-1884), a Protestant minister who combined an interest in his heritage with an interest in Indo-European linguistics. This was not unusual since philology and history, for all practical purposes, were treated as one inquiry in the nineteenth century. His first work in the field of linguistics, *Beiträge zur Kunde der litauischen Sprache, I-II* (1843-1849), prompted Schleicher to remark that, despite Kurschat's lack of formal training, he showed "a clear aptitude for things linguistic." From 1844, Kurschat administered the Lithuanian Language Seminar in Königsberg.

In the 1850s, study of Lithuanian began to be taken up more often in the international arena of comparative linguistics. Philological historians flocked to study Lithuanian speakers since linguistic research had led to a theory that Lithuanian was the oldest living Indo-European language. A non-Lithuanian philologist of that time wrote that

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[36]Algirdas Sabaliauskas, *Noted Scholars of the Lithuanian Language* (Chicago: Akademines Skautijos Press, 1973), p. 18.

> The discovery of the remarkable similarity of the Lithuanian language to Avesta (Old Persian) and Sanskrit has clearly opened new frontiers in the field of linguistic science according to conclusions of comparative morphology. The morphology of the Lithuanian language proves that the ruling class, or the kings of ancient Hittite (Gititis) nation, had surnames similar to Lithuanian surnames.[37]

As academic interest grew, Kurschat used his credentials to recruit non-Lithuanians to his cause. The Tilsit Literary Society, because of its proximity to Lithuania Major, acted as a bridge to the Samogitians (Lithuanian Lowlands). Kurschat's nephew, Alexander Kurschat, who administered the Tilsit Literary Society, arranged travel plans for foreign philologists seeking to do field work in Lithuania Major. Friedrich Kurschat's own trips across the Niemen (Nemunas) River resulted in a close friendship with key figures, like the Samogitian bishops Motiejus Valancius (1801-1875) and, later, Antanas Baranauskas (1835-1902). This relationship proved an invaluable aid to the Samogitians since Kurschat arranged a massive book printing and smuggling operation on the East Prussian frontier in the 1860s.

Kurschat also served as editor of the newspaper *Keleivis* (The Traveler; full name *The Traveler Bringing News from Königsberg to His Lithuanian Brothers*) from 1849 to 1880. In it, he contributed articles on history about the early activities of the Teutonic Knights and even wrote about the Battle of Tannenberg *(Zalgirio Musis)*. Kurschat did not use the newspaper to oppose the establishment; but rather, he saw it as a means to elevate, nurture and preserve the Lithuanian language and its past. The inclusion of folk songs and their melodies within his *Grammatik der litauischen Sprache* (1876) best illustrated his feelings toward the Lithuanian language. In it, he characterized a selection of songs that had affected him as a child. In an article on Lithuanian folk songs, French composer Bourgault-Ducoudry (1840-1910) concentrated on Kurschat's characterization of these folk songs. The keen interests of folk philologists in the Lithuanians, then, bolstered an incipient linguistic nationalism. Kurschat's activities contributed to this since they bridged the world of

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[37]Thurston, "Lithuanian Language." *Lithuanian Days*, p. 2

linguistics with the formation of a historical consciousness for Lithuanian speakers on both sides of the border.

THE IMPACT OF PHILOLOGY

The emphasis on the Lithuanian language and its poetry and folklore, by eighteenth century German and Prussian-Lithuanian writers and scholars, directly influenced philological interests in the Lithuanian language at the onset of the nineteenth century. This phenomenon occurred quite naturally, because the nineteenth century treated philology and history as one intellectual inquiry. Thus, the Lithuanian *dainos*, first exposed to the world by Philipp Ruhig, continued to attract philologists like Franz Bopp, Georg Nesselman, August Schleicher, and others who exemplified historical study as an essential part of philology. The impact of this philological-historical inquiry not only helped the Lithuanians to recall a past free of Russian control but also created the psychological framework for a linguistic nationalism. In effect, then, a root cause of the birth of a national spirit, beyond the reduction of Polish influences and the banning of the Lithuanian books, was the role of foreign academics who championed the Lithuanian cause by generating a sensitivity to the language.

International linguistic interest in the Lithuanian and Baltic languages was initially generated by the German Franz Bopp. In a letter dated July 16, 1823, Bopp wrote to one of his teachers that

> . . . in the spring of that year, at the academy, he had given a lecture in which he had compared Sanskrit with Lithuanian, Latvian, Old Prussian and the Slavic languages.[38]

Through the publication of his work, *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Send, Armenischen, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litauischen, Altslavischen, Gotischen und Deutschen (Comparative Grammar of the Sanskrit, Avestian, Armenian, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Old Slavic, Gothic and German Languages)*, between 1833 and 1852, and a special book on Old Prussian, in 1853,

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[38]Sabaliauskas, *Noted Scholars*, p. 11.

Lithuanian began to appear in the international arena of comparative linguistics. Thus, when nineteenth century linguistic scholars realized that related languages developed from a common source and that Lithuanian was a reliable aid in solving many linguistic problems, an intense investigation of Lithuanian began.

As this interest grew, the Tilsit Literary Society continued to arrange travel for field work across the border for an array of philologists. Philologists from other countries under colonial rule, whether in India or Hapsburg Prague, had a psychological empathy for the oppressed Lithuanians. For example, Professor August Schleicher's philologic activity in Lithuanian began at the University of Prague. In 1852, Schleicher was authorized by the Vienna Academy of Sciences to begin an investigation into the history of the Lithuanian language. Arriving in Königsberg and disappointed with his welcome, he at once set out for the Lithuanian villages of East Prussia on his own, learning the language from the lips of the people themselves.

Schleicher thoroughly saturated himself in the everyday life of the Lithuanian-speaking peasant and was successful in learning quite a bit of the language before he returned to Prague with a treasure of fairy tales, *dainos*, riddles, and impressions. Schleicher's subsequent work, *Handbuch der litauischen Sprache (Grammar of Lithuanian)*, published in 1856, made Lithuanian an international discipline as well as proved that a grammar text should be written from the spoken language. Through example, then, the world's foremost linguists began to travel among Lithuanians.

Another among those attracted to the Lithuanian Seminar was Filip Fortunatov (1848-1914), the Russian scholar who helped establish the school of linguistics at the University of Moscow. Fortunatov graduated from the history-philology faculty at the University of Moscow in 1868 and, after passing the master's examination, visited the most important European centers of linguistic sciences. Prior to his departure for Western Europe, he spent the summer of 1871 in the Lithuanian peasant village of Liudvinavas with Visvald Miller (later to become a famous orientalist) to study the dialect of that region. The summer's field work among the Lithuanians resulted in a joint Fortunatov-Miller publication of a collection of Lithuanian folk songs with a description of the Liudvinavas dialect. Fortunatov wrote:

> Who knows whether there exists any other Indo-European language which has so many dialect nuances as the Lithuanian language. . . . Every ten or twenty verses one can find certain characteristics which are interesting from the morphological, phonetic, or lexical point of view. Not infrequently in one place some feature from distant antiquity has remained whereas in the other dialects it has already disappeared.[39]

Next to field work in Lithuania, Königsberg was a magnet for Fortunatov because there he could freely meet with the foremost contemporary specialist of Lithuanian—namely Friedrich Kurschat—as well as have access to Lithuanian language texts in its libraries.

Fortunatov also studied under the direction of various scholars in Western Europe. In Tübingen, he investigated texts of ancient Indian literature under the direction of German specialists. While in Leipzig, Fortunatov attended the lectures of the young August Leskian, August Schleicher's favorite student, who continued to work on Lithuanian. After Leskian was appointed professor at the University of Leipzig in 1870, he made Leipzig a world center for Lithuanian and Slavic studies. In order to broaden the knowledge of Lithuanian he had learned from Schleicher, Leskian visited Vilkiskiai (Vilkyskiai) in 1879-1880 where he collected folk songs. Subsequent works on the Lithuanian ablaut *(Der Ablaut der Würzelsilben in Litauischen)* and word formation *(Die Bildung der Nomina in Litauischen)* generated further investigation into Lithuanian linguistics. His Lithuanian grammar was important to almost all contemporary Indo-Europeanists since it enabled them to obtain a basic knowledge of the language. Leskian trained scores of famous linguists as well as non-linguists, like the Lithuanian writer, Jonas Biliunas (1879-1907), who attended his lectures in 1904. Fortunatov went on to study in Berlin and Paris, arriving in London at a time when the richest collections of Sanskrit and Vedic manuscripts were coming from India. Having met the most celebrated European linguists and having worked in the best libraries, Fortunatov thoroughly readied himself for

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[39]Sabaliauskas, *Noted Scholars*, p. 93.

an influential career as the father of philology at the University of Moscow upon his arrival there in 1875.

The Lithuanian Seminar at Königsberg provided Fortunatov with an academic base for the study of Lithuanian. Fortunatov, in turn, passed on his knowledge to a generation of young Lithuanians who had found no figure of comparable stature within their own ranks. From Fortunatov's classes came a fine group of Russian linguists as well as

> . . . Polish, German, Serbian, Danish, Norwegian, Finnish, Swedish, Czech, Dutch, and French linguistics. Almost all of them took his excellent Lithuanian course, which usually lasted two years. Inasmuch as time would permit, the students would get to know the dialects and history of the Lithuanian language. In their homework, they investigated various Lithuanian and old Lithuanian texts.[40]

No matter what their specialty may have been, almost all Lithuanian students at the University of Moscow came to Fortunatov's lectures since the Lithuanian intellectuals of that era considered him the greatest authority on their native language. Thus it was there that Jonas Jablonskis (1860-1930), the future standardizer of the Lithuanian language, learned about the history, grammar, and rules in orthography of Lithuanian. It is also possible that Fortunatov influenced Jablonskis' choice of the west-central high Lithuanian dialect as the basis for a standard literary language since Fortunatov chose

> . . . the central Lithuanian dialect, which otherwise one could call the central Lithuanian language and moreover its southern and central variants. The central Lithuanian language, the Prussian dialect, is the most investigated at the present time and that one circumstance would force us to settle, first of all. . . . the central Lithuanian dialect in the entirety

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[40]Sabaliauskas, *Noted Scholars*, p. 94.

> of its variants is, in general, . . . more archaic from the point of view of the sounds than the other contemporary Lithuanian dialects.[41]

Fortunatov's choice was influenced by the fact that Schleicher had written his grammar in the western high Lithuanian dialect. Having introduced the Slavic languages as well as Lithuanian to comparative linguistics, Schleicher had considerable influence on the science via his close relationship with various scholars, including Russian philologists. Therefore, when Jablonskis turned to Fortunatov for guidance in standardizing the Lithuanian language, Fortunatov had to consider Schleicher's grammar when he recommended the high Lithuanian dialect.

While the Vilnius school of theology formed a base for Lithuanian studies at St. Petersburg and at the University of Moscow, the Vilnius medical school in Kazan was part of a group called "Kazan school" by historians and linguists. It was there that Jan Baudouin de Courtenay (1845-1929) arrived in the fall of 1875 and originated the "Kazan school" which began to shake the theoretical foundations of traditional linguistics. He considered himself a self-taught linguist although he studied under famous teachers, including the renowned Schleicher.

However, de Courtenay is primarily remembered for his association with Jonas Juska (1815-1886), a Lithuanian educator and linguist at one of the Kazan gymnasiums. Juska enhanced his knowledge of the language by writing a critical review of Schleicher's Lithuanian grammar (1856). This resulted in his work on Lithuanian dialects and orthography, *Kalbos lëtuviszko lëzuv'o ir lëtuviszkas statraszymas arba ortografija (Lithuanian Language and Orthography)*, published in 1861 by the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. This was the first study of Lithuanian dialect written by a Lithuanian. When Jonas Juska met Baudouin de Courtenay, he told him about his brother Antanas Juska's (1819-1880) text collection of 7,000 songs, 2,000 melodies of songs, and about 70,000 words. Even though the printing of Lithuanian was illegal, Baudouin de Courtenay successfully included four songs in the scientific works of

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[41]Sabaliauskas, *Noted Scholars*, pp. 95-96.

the university without Czarist police notice. Later, Baudouin de Courtenay influenced the decision of the scientific council at the University of Kazan to publish Juska's songs, in 1880. Simultaneously, the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences began publishing another collection of Juska's songs. It is worth noting that:

> Under the Czarist oppression the appearance of Juska's collection was a tremendous victory for Lithuanian culture. For this, Lithuanians must be thankful to the progressive scholars and especially to Baudouin de Courtenay.[42]

Ignoring Baudouin de Courtenay's atheism, the Roman Catholic priest and nationalist Juozas Tumas-Vaizgantas (1869-1933) recognized Baudouin de Courtenay's role in Lithuanian linguistics and cultural life by praying "to God for his good health," and labeling him the "guardian angel of Lithuanians."

To better understand the impact of philology upon the awakening of a Lithuanian spirit, one must recognize the contributions of Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913), a French-speaking Swiss linguist who studied in Geneva, Leipzig and Berlin. Having served as a professor in Paris for ten years and Geneva for twenty years, his contribution to language was his 1878 work, *Investigations of the Prota-Indo-European Vowel System*, which centered on reconstructing with mathematical precision a picture of the Indo-European vocalic system of thousands of years ago. He is credited with laying the foundation for three schools of linguistic thought. Of most importance to Lithuanians was the second school of thought, which adopted and developed de Saussure's socio-linguistic theories on language. Paul Jules Antoine Meillet (1866-1936), a representative of this school of thought, became a champion of the Lithuanian people. He

> . . . corresponded with the most important investigators of the Baltic languages and knew Buga, Endzelins, and Jablonskis personally. He called Jablonskis the most knowledgeable person

[42]Sabaliauskas, *Noted Scholars*, p. 108.

> about his native language, noting that the contemporary Lithuanian language was "described in the most detailed and accurate way" in his grammar.[43]

Philologists who took part in Meillet's seminars became acquainted with the language through field visits to Lithuanians in their natural habitat. Meillet himself became more empathetic toward the people with every visit to Lithuania. He had a wide range of students from as far away as India, each of whom lived among the folk, in the course of their philologic studies, and traveled from village to village with knapsacks on their backs. One of these was Suniti Kuman Chatterji, a past president of the India Sanskrit Society, who returned to Kaunas during the period of independence and presented his old yellowed notebook to the University of Vilnius at Kaunas where, in good Lithuanian, he had recorded village songs.

De Saussure's influence spread throughout various academic centers in Europe. In an address to the International Congress of Orientalists in Geneva, on September 8, 1894, de Saussure, in spite of the Czarist ban, read a paper on Lithuanian accentology. Fortunatov later discovered the same law independently and published his work in St. Petersburg. As a result, it is called "The Fortunatov-de Saussure Law."

By 1895, the Danish writer Äge Meyer Benedictsen, after an extensive field visit to Lithuania, defined the national feeling of its people as

> . . . a natural instinctive feeling of strength. . . . It is the feeling of not being alone. Much can divide and sever the people of a country, different aims, different abilities, and different lots of life, but one feels, when times are normal, a common fellowship permeating everything and that feeling one holds fast and will not relinquish, it would mean losing strength, losing one's footing. . . . It is the union of the strength of individuals which in the great moments of a people endows national feeling with

[43]Sabaliauskas, *Noted Scholars*, pp. 57-58.

> such wonderful strength, and a nation rises or declines as this feeling prevails.
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> . . . Common soil and a common language are so strong a tie, that few are capable of amalgamating with a foreign nation even if their lot in life compels them to do so.[44]

Benedictsen further expressed the important relationship that language has in a national awakening of a people when he wrote that

> . . . the last hundred years . . . has witnessed . . . slumbering peoples which have awakened to activity, nations looked upon as crushed, which have revived and are now brimming with life, nations which were forgotten, but with which the world now has to reckon. . . .
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> No people, not even the smallest, will now give up their language, their nationality, rather will they fight a wearing and protracted fight, endure and make sacrifices; has a nation but become conscious of itself, it need not despair in this fight. Even the small, . . . dependent nations have realized that their strength in the future, their best riches, are vested in their national characteristics, of which their language is the banner. It is the treasure which the people have collected on the common soil through common labour, common suffering, common happenings.[45]

The intense philologic interests in the Lithuanian language also developed a spiritual unity between the various Aistian tribes in the face of foreign domination. For example, Fortunatov's summer home in Karelia became a meeting place for Finnish, Latvian and Lithuanian

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[44]Äge Meyer Benedictsen, *Lithuania: The Awakening of a Nation* (Copenhagen, Denmark: Egmont H. Petersons Kge. Hof-Bogtrykkeri, 1924), p. 4.

[45]Benedictsen, *Lithuania: The Awakening of a Nation*, p. 607.

philologic historians who felt a spiritual unity rooted in the ancient Aistian mists of the pre-Chrisitan era. Janis Endzelins (1873-1961), the Latvian philologist, studied under Fortunatov and wrote fifteen books and approximately thirty articles, the bulk of which is valuable for Lithuanian studies. He wrote the most widely accepted grammar of Old Prussian and investigated other dead Baltic languages such as Curonian. During his own student days at St. Petersburg, Endzelins was a close friend of many Lithuanian linguists and a particularly good friend of Kazimieras Buga (1879-1924). Zigmas Zinkevicius (1927-), a Lithuanian philologist during the Soviet era at the University of Vilnius, noted that Buga was not only active in secret Lithuanian press circles in St. Petersburg but also a student of Baudouin de Courtenay and edited Juska's works.

Jooseppi Mikkola (1866-1946), a noted Finnish philologist, studied Lithuanian in the small town of Ploksciai. Ploksciai was also a study center for Baudouin de Courtenay, Äge Meyer Benedictsen and the Czech linguist, Vaclav Machek. Mikkola, a good friend of Vincas Kudirka, popularized Lithuanian folk songs in his native Finland. In an 1895 issue of *Varpas*, Vincas Kudirka made reference to Mikkola's wife, Maria, who wrote under the pen name of Maila Talvio (1871-1951). Kudirka singled out activities that resulted from the couple's two visits to Lithuania (1894 and 1895):

> . . . let us move to the land of a "thousand lakes" whence I have news that in Helsinki a "Finnish Society" has been created which has festivals several times a year. Among the directors of this society there is a young, highly educated woman, a passionate enthusiast for folk songs, Maila Mikkola. On October tenth the first festival of this season was held and six women sang Lithuanian songs translated into Finnish. . . . One young Finnish poet whose name I don't know translated these songs into Finnish and published them in a newspaper. . . . I send congratulations to the Finnish Society and greetings to the fine Finnish

> singers from the Lithuanian girls and the nightingales of the Nemunas.[46]

Maila Mikkola later published a Finnish novel, *Two Loves*, wherein one of the main characters is a Lithuanian modeled after her friend Vincas Kudirka.

Another Finn, August-Robert Niemi (1869-1931), collected approximately 3,500 Lithuanian folk songs, compared them to Latvian and looked for echoes of the songs in Finnish folk poetry. Niemi roamed the districts of Birsai, Vablninkas, Merkine, Daugai and Marcinkonys. Speaking fluent Lithuanian, he also visited Vilnius, Kaunas, Tilsit and Königsberg. He noted that Finnish and Lithuanian marriage customs were shared, including similar words for bride and son-in-law. Among his helpers in Lithuania was the mathematician, Zigmas Zemaitis (1884-1969). Niemi sympathized with the difficulties of the Lithuanians and published articles on Lithuania in Finnish periodicals. Interestingly enough, Mikkola, a close friend of Kudirka, was the one who made travel arrangements for Niemi's Lithuanian sojourn.

Subsequently, when the folklorist Basanavicius took the initiative to organize *Ausra* in 1882, Prague was a logical location since the Czech Academy of Sciences had developed an interest in the Lithuanian language by way of Kurschat's Lithuanian language seminar in Königsberg. Clear lines of communication to Tilsit had already been established. In March 1883, when *Ausra* began in Regaine, East Prussia, he evidently had the basis for an intellectual audience beyond Lithuanian circles by way of linguistics and folklore.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF POLANIZATION-RUSSIFICATION

During most of the eighteenth century, Lithuanian peasant masses were largely devoid of a national identity. Lacking native leaders, they watched helplessly as Poles and Russians clashed over the right to dominate them. The situation changed, however, in 1830, when the revolutionary call "free Poland" flared up among Polanized Lithuanian gentry. This movement sought to eliminate Russian rule in

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[46]Puzinas, "Dr. Jonas Basanavicius." *Lituanus* 23, p. 6.

both Poland and Lithuania—leaving Polish overlords in Lithuania. Because Polish nobles of the 1830-1831 revolt avoided the issue of the abolishment of serfdom, Lithuanian serfs took advantage of the Polish-Russian turmoil to conduct a "revolt within a revolt" by seizing Polish estates. Even though units of Polish nobles defeated the Lithuanian serfs, they were ultimately crushed by Russian troops. In order to weaken Polish centers of resistance, Czarist Governor Mikhail Nikolaevich Murav'ev (1796-1866) had the University of Vilnius closed, on May 1, 1832, because he saw its political activities as a "germ of revolt." He also took various restrictive measures against noble families in the Polish dominated Roman Catholic Church. In closing the University of Vilnius, Russian authorities inadvertently aided the Lithuanians. Since they encouraged Lithuanian theology and medical students to go to St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kazan and other Russian centers for higher learning, they created conditions for the progressive removal of Polish cultural and linguistic influences. This set the stage for easy access by Lithuanian students to linguistic champions of their language, such as Fortunatov in Moscow and Baudouin de Courtenay at Kazan University—all of whom maintained close ties with philologists in Königsberg.

By 1840, the term "Lithuania" was forbidden with "North-West Region" taking its place. It was not until 1863 that Polish nobles yet again revolted. Demonstrations, organized by Polish elements in the "North-West Region" in response to a Czarist recruitment drive, hastened the actual revolt. Inspired by various proposed reforms leading to more autonomy for the Polish element, the nobility petitioned for an ultimate annexation of Lithuania to Poland. Once again nobles and peasants revolted for different reasons. The peasants saw their goal as eventual land ownership since for them the revolt was a struggle against oppressive measures and the exploitation of landlords who aimed to retain in their possession lands, which, according to the edict of 1861, only serfs had the right to purchase. After the revolt was crushed, Russian authorities again thought Poland the source of the revolution since the nobility was officially subordinate to Warsaw and the Polish national independence movement. Failure of the second revolt resulted in a progressive weakening of Polish fervor among the educated class.

During the 1863 revolt, the Czarist government of Alexander II replaced Governor-General J. Nazimov in Vilnius with the former

governor, Mikhail Nikolaevich Murav'ev, who felt that the Polish gentry was at the root of all unrest not only in Poland but also in the the entire North-West Region. Since the native Lithuanian clergy had very little power compared to the Polish clergy, Murav'ev felt he could handle the Lithuanian peasantry, who were mostly interested in economic and not political issues. Thus, he embarked on a policy aimed at breaking the power of the Polish Roman Catholic Church and its ally, the Polanized nobility. As part of his pacification policy, he exiled the Polish Bishop Krasinski from Vilnius. Another step was to give the Polish-controlled Theological Seminary at Kaunas a choice of using either Russian or Lithuanian in its curriculum. The Polish clerical leadership chose "the lesser of two evils," further diminishing Polish influence and creating conditions for the teaching of the Lithuanian language. Murav'ev also weakened the Polish camp by placing restrictions on Polanized landlords. Using the War Act of 1864, Murav'ev banned Polish-Latin print, permitting the use of the Lithuanian language as long as the Russian Cyrillic alphabet was used. At the same time, Murav'ev executed land reform laws more favorable toward the peasants than the imperial edict of 1861. Since there was no Lithuanian national movement, Murav'ev felt his actions would lead to a resocialization process in which Lithuanians would shed their identification with Poland and, through the switch to Cyrillic, create favorable conditions geared to Russification. The opposite occurred. After seeing their political, cultural and economic ties with Poland shattered, more landholders turned to the study of ancient Lithuanian as preserved by the peasantry.

The Cyrillic policy of Murav'ev prompted a statement from Bishop Motiejus Valancius, a Samogitian of peasant origin who had received both masters and doctorate degrees in theology at St. Petersburg. While at St. Petersburg, he was exposed to Lithuanian student circles free of Polish domination and gravitated to renowned philologists Fortunatov and Baudouin de Courtenay, who taught Lithuanian as part of their Indo-European linguistics program. Valancius' education, tied to his interest in philology, also pulled him toward the same social circles as those the philologist Friedrich Kurschat. Kurschat and Valancius were both intimate with the Samogitian peasantry—Kurschat through his field research on language and Valancius by virtue of his origins.

Valancius' appointment to bishop and subsequent rise in the hierarchy of the church was not a direct result of his ability or due to help from Polish clerics. Rather, it came about as a misunderstanding between the Pope and Czar Nicholas I. When the post of Bishop of Samogitia became vacant in 1838, the Polish hierarchy and the Pope struggled over mutually acceptable candidates from 1838 to 1849. During the struggle, Valancius kept a low profile, which was interpreted as docility by the Russians. When the Czar submitted his name along with those of several other clerics for the bishopric, the Pope chose Valancius and thereby set the stage for the rise of a militant Lithuanian clergy drawn from the ranks of the peasantry.

The peasant-oriented Valancius spent the years 1850 to 1863 quietly building up an extensive parish school system in Samogitia, staffed by a local cadre of anti-Polish priests. During the 1863 revolt, Valancius remained neutral since he considered the revolt a Polish cause, conserving himself for a long-range cultural struggle. As a result, Valancius kept his position and his forces intact while Murav'ev cracked down on Polish and Polanized circles. Shortly after the Murav'ev linguistic decree, Valancius wrote to the Governor-General of Kaunas that "I believe it is impossible to publish the Samogitian Gospels as a Bible in Russian letters, because it is my duty to see that such a book would not be ruined."[47] Valancius then began to draw up plans with Friedrich Kurschat and the Tilsit Lithuanian Literary Society for the printing and smuggling of books across the East Prussian border. He also used his disciplined cadre of priests to establish secret schools in every farm and village. In response to his request, the Bishop of Ermland in East Prussia assigned a Lithuanian-speaking minister to coordinate smuggling on his side of the border. Secret tutoring, coupled with an efficient distribution network staffed by a dedicated peasantry, effectively circumvented the book ban. Similarly, Kurschat's philology colleagues at St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kazan, Prague and other linguistic centers closed ranks to defend the Lithuanian language. As a result, the ban on Latin letters in Lithuania by the Czarist authorities actually led to a stronger cultural awareness, since the spreading of secret schools and contraband books by the militant underground laid the basis for a new literacy in

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[47]Jakstas, "Lithuania to World War I" in *Lithuania 700 Years*, p. 131.

the generation actively engaged in resisting Polanization and Russification. This new literacy drew its strength from the rebirth of the Lithuanian language. Only twenty years after the "book ban" was first instituted, literacy in Lithuania rose to fourth among the provinces of Russia—the first three in the empire being Finland, Estonia and Latvia.

The period between Valancius' death, in 1875, and the appearance of *Ausra*, the first Lithuanian newspaper, in 1883, was dominated by Antanas Baranauskas, a student of Bishop Valancius. A poet of nature and a philologist, Baranauskas was also launched into the linguistic struggle by Mikhail Murav'ev. Having developed a strong interest in linguistics, Baranauskas was encouraged to pursue philology by Anton Shifner, a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Having corresponded with the philologist August Schleicher of Prague, Baranauskas visited him in Jena, in 1865. When Murav'ev urged him to write a handbook of Lithuanian grammar, Baranauskas translated Schleicher's Lithuanian grammar from the German. Later, he wrote his own handbook in which he created Lithuanian grammatical terminology, subsequently published in Tilsit in 1896 by his students who compiled the handbook from their class notes. In time, he gained an international reputation as an authority on Lithuanian and reviewed books for the Russian Academy of Sciences during the ban period. Besides Schleicher, he closely collaborated with Baudouin de Courtenay, who lived in Kazan, and kept him up-to-date with works in progress among Lithuanian circles at Russian universities.

Bishop Valancius' ideals of linguistic nationalism clearly appear in his student Baranauskas, who wrote:

> The first ray of truth shone in my mind in Lithuanian, the first emotions of the heart warmed and rocked my soul in Lithuanian. My mother rocked and cradled me in Lithuanian, my teacher told me stories in Lithuanian. The first songs that touched my soul were Lithuanian.[48]

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[48]Algirdas Sabaliauskas, Zodziai *atgyja: pasakojimas apie lietuvisko zodzio tyrinetojus* (Vilnius, Lithuania: Vaga Publishers, 1980), p. 180.

The same theme of linguistic nationalism as a "second birth" appeared in Vincas Kudirka, the author of the Lithuanian national anthem. The omnipresence of this very theme prompted Stonequist to see it as a new religion and not as a political awakening. True to Herder's romantic aesthetics passed down from Donelaitis, Baranauskas wrote his celebrated poem *Anyksciu Silelis* (The Woods of Anyksciai), first published in 1858, in which he vividly describes the unhappy fate of the vanishing forests of Lithuania. The use of the metrical forms of the folk *dainos* renders the poem dear to Lithuanians. Bearing this in mind, it may be noted that men of the prelacy, such as Valancius and Baranauskas, could communicate with the masses precisely because they shared the same folk roots. The educated Baranauskas, for example, was able to articulate the feelings of the folk because, like them, he too felt a mystical solidarity with the language and folk culture.

The Valancius-Baranauskas era set the stage for a Lithuanian Renaissance among the peasant masses—in other words, a living development of an ongoing process instead of a rebirth at a certain point in time and place. The Italian writer Giovani Papini, after spending time among Lithuanians, recognized that very same ongoing process:

> Renascence [*sic*], indeed is neither the birth of a new people, nor the resurrection of a dead people. It marks a historic change of transformation of its national individuality enriched in content and made more distinct.[49]

Thus the nineteenth century, generally, and the book ban period, specifically, were periods of continuity as well as of innovation, since they allowed for Lithuanianism, as a new collective nationalism, to be forged on the twin pillars of language and folk culture.

The coincidence of interests between the peasantry and the clergy, as well as the elite Lithuanians living abroad, began to give birth to Lithuanian linguistic nationalism. Neither of these groups possessed a political tradition nor did they possess, in whole or in part, a political program. Their sense of peoplehood developed as a

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[49]Constantine R. Jurgela, *Lithuania: The Outpost of Freedom* (St. Petersburg, Florida: Valkyrie Press, Inc., 1976), p. 109.

reaction to Polanization and Russification and the Romantic movement's influence upon the East Prussian and Russian intellectuals of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In turn, teachers, writers, clergy, and others became instrumental in carrying the linguistic movement's message to different segments of the population. The formal study of the Lithuanian language by philologists also played a major role in that it caused Lithuanians to elevate their native tongue and to recall the past in an effort to restore a sense of pride in their people.

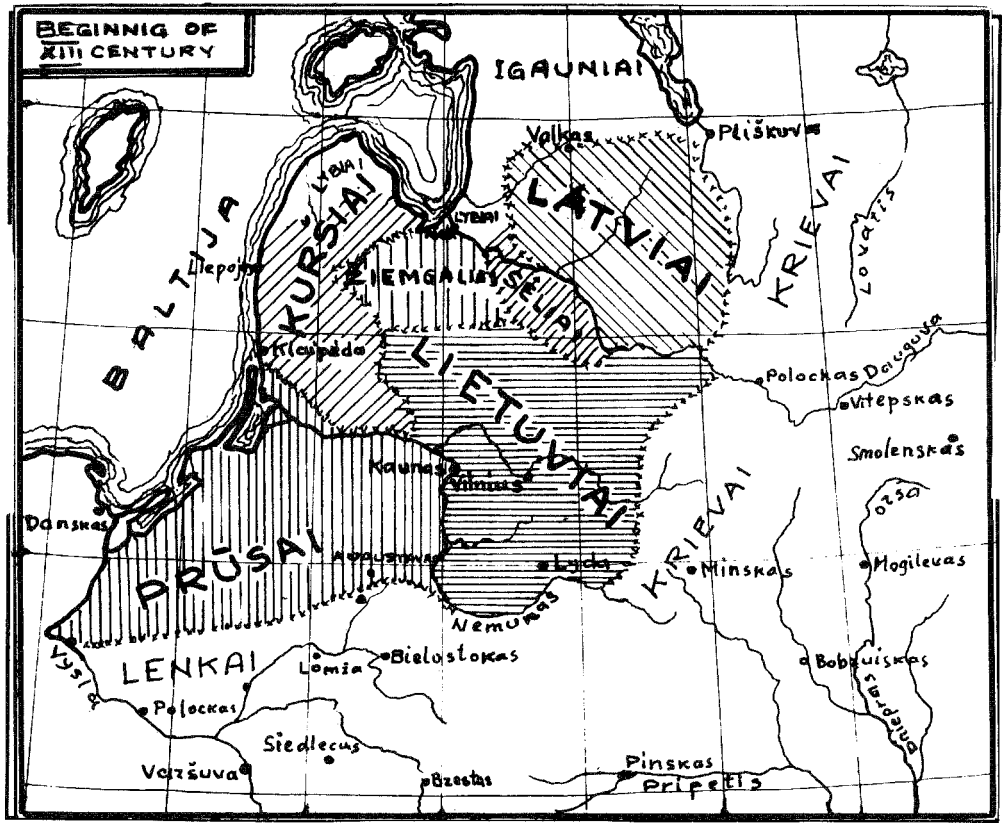
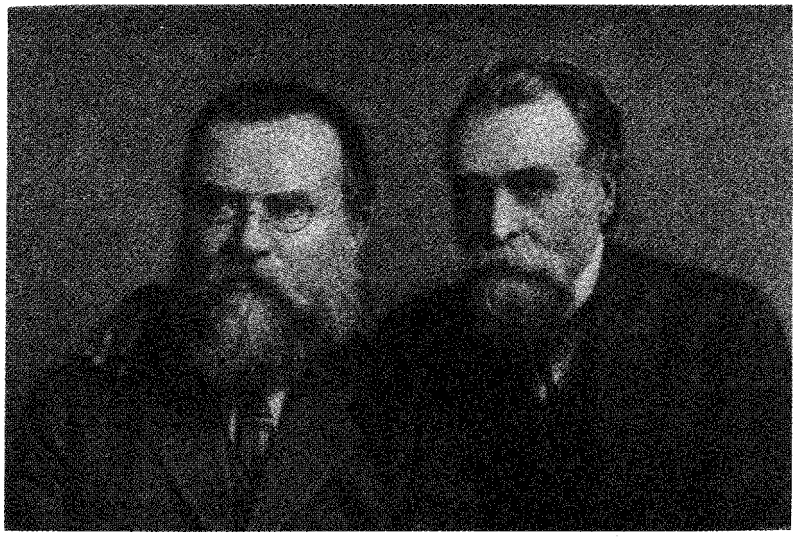
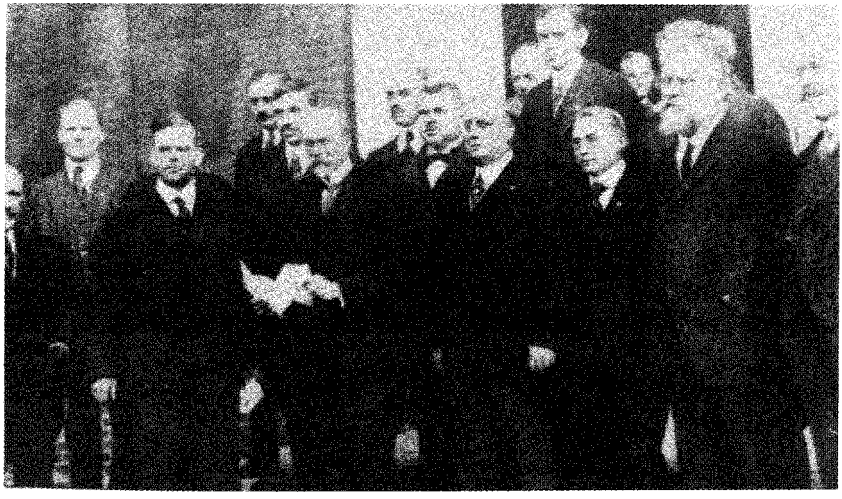


Figure 1. Location of the Aistian Tribes in the thirteenth century (reproduced by Juozas Jurkenas).



Jonas Sliupas (1861-1944) and Jonas Basanavicius (1851-1927), editors of *Ausra* and founders of Lithuanianism, ca. 1913 (photo courtesy of Jonas Kuprys).



The future founder of Czechoslovakia, Thomas Masaryk (front row, third from left), with Jonas Sliupas (front row, second from right), at the Conference of Delegates from the Subjugated Peoples of Europe on the steps of Independence Hall, in Philadelphia, 1916. Sliupas shared Masaryk's dream of a future Middle European Federation, stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea (photo courtesy of the Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture).

Antanas Staniukynas, founder of the Sisters of St. Casimir Congregation (top left, with Turkish fez), posing with fellow doctoral students from the École Biblique in Jerusalem, Palestine, in 1901 (photo supplied by the Sisters of St. Casimir from their Library in the Chicago Motherhouse).

First wave Chicago immigrant businessman Stanley Balzekas, Sr. (center), in front of his meat market in the Bridgeport section of Chicago, 1916 (photo courtesy of the Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture).

CHAPTER 2

EMERGENCE OF A LITHUANIAN COMMUNITY IN CHICAGO

Incessant rains followed by draught in the late 1860s saw the large-scale economic migration to America by demoralized peasants. The custom of parceling out land to all the children within the same family added to the Lithuanian exodus. A further incentive to emigrate was compulsory service in the Russian army. These economic and social conditions caused twenty-five percent of the population to emigrate between 1868 and 1914, the majority of which came to the United States.[50] Various sources have estimated the population of ethnographic Lithuania at approximately three million inhabitants at the time. There were approximately 2.8 million inhabitants in the geographical area of contemporary Lithuania according to the preliminary census of 1913.[51] Another source puts the figure at 3,170,764 inhabitants residing in ethnographic Lithuania in 1897.[52]

Lithuanians were frequently classified as Russians when they first arrived in the United States, since they came from a Russian province. Immigration authorities further added to the confusion when they classified Lithuanians by their religion. For example, Roman Catholic Lithuanians were confused with Poles whereas Protestant Lithuanians were confused with Germans. In 1903, University of Chicago researcher Carl D. Buck lamented the lack of adequate census data in his attempt to gather statistics on Lithuanians settling in Chicago. He wrote that in spite of a distinct language, thousands of Lithuanian immigrants were not mentioned anywhere

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[50]Vanda Sruoga, *Lietuvos steigiamasis seimas* (New York: Tautos Fondas, 1975), p. 3.

[51]A. Stanaitis and P. Adlys. *Lietuvos gyventojai.* (Vilnius, Lithuania: NP, 1973), p. 12.

[52]P. Klimas, *Lietuva, jos gyventojai ir sienos* (Vilnius, Lithuania: NP, 1917), p. 12.

and that Lithuanians in Chicago ". . . were told by the enumerator that, there being no provision for Lithuanians, they might be either Poles or Russians."[53] Buck further noted that it wasn't until the school census of 1896 that they were classified separately and that several Lithuanians were appointed as enumerators. However, even though the separate classification was retained in 1898,

> . . . no Lithuanian enumerators were appointed, and the number dropped from 2,897 to 1,411, although . . . Lithuanians had been pouring in constantly, as they have been since then.[54]

As early as 1900, Antanas Olsauskas, in *Istorija Chicagos Lietuviu,* commented on the reasons behind the small number recorded by the census of 1898, in spite of Lithuanian enumerators:

> . . . barely ten percent of our people know how to read or write, of this perhaps ten percent read newspapers. . . . when a canvasser solicits with his book . . . [the person] frightens . . . not knowing why all this is necessary; that is why . . . false . . . or no answers are given. . . . [thinking] the canvassers are spies to send them to Siberia . . . they say Smith, Miller, Brown, Charles, etc., or say nothing. . . . (or) . . . "from Russia" or "from Poland" because they do not know how to pronounce in English 'Lietuva'. . . .[55]

Olsauskas further stated that "Lithuanians who number at least 8,000 are recorded as barely 1,411."[56] Buck had calculated that there were

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[53]Carl D. Buck, *A Sketch of the Linguistic Conditions of Chicago* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1903), p. 6.

[54]Buck, *Linguistic Conditions of Chicago*, p. 6.

[55]Sernas Adomaitis, *Istorija Chicagos Lietuviu ju parapijos, ir Kn. Krauciuno prova su laikrasciu "Lietuva," buvusi balandzio menesyje, 1899* (Chicago: Spauda "Lietuvos," 1900), pp. 4-5.

[56]Adomaitis, *Istorija Chicagos Lietuviu,* p. 5.

at least 10,000 Lithuanian speakers in Chicago in 1903, and in all probability over 14,000.

Though the Chicago Census Bureau made an attempt to gather statistical data, national data on the number of Lithuanians who settled in the United States before World War I did not become available until much later. According to Shirley Berton, senior archivist of the National Archives and Records Administration in Chicago, the U.S. Census compiled data by country until 1910. Because Lithuania did not exist as a country, its people were counted as Russians. It was only after 1910 that the Census compiled data for "foreign born" and "language of speaker." It exists, however, in raw data form.

Recognizing the problem, several active individuals within the first wave Lithuanian immigrant community took it upon themselves to gather statistics. As early as 1915, Karolis V. Rackauskas, an active member within American Lithuanian Socialist organizations, published statistical data on the first wave. As contributor and editor of several periodicals, including Lithuanian Alliance of America organ *Tevyne* (*Fatherland*, 1911-1920), Rackauskas used his knowledge of and position within the community. As a result, he compiled state-by-state data on immigrants by writing to the individual Lithuanian Alliance of America chapters (table 1).[57]

In addition to Rackauskas' data, journalist-priest Antanas Milukas used other sources to gather information on Lithuanians. For example, data from parish and newspaper records, as well as other Roman Catholic organizations, enabled Milukas to compile a more accurate picture of Lithuanian immigration between 1899 to 1914 (table 2).[58] His methods also enabled him to break down the numbers by year as well as by the number of men and women. In comparison to Rackauskas' 204,975, Milukas arrived at 252,594 Lithuanian immigrants who had entered the United States between 1899 and 1914. In light of the data, Antanas Olsauskas' and Carl D. Buck's

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[57]Karolis V. Rackauskas, *Amerika* (Chicago: Jaunoji Lietuva Publishers, 1915), pp. 204-5.

[58]Kunigas Antanas Milukas, *Amerikos Lietuviai XIX simtmetyje, 1868-1900*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Zvaigzde Spauda, 1938), 1:17.

estimations on the number of Lithuanian speakers in Chicago, in 1903, were, in all probability, more accurate than that of the Chicago census.

FIRST SETTLEMENTS

A prominent figure within the ranks of newly arrived economic immigrants of the 1880s was the first editor of *Ausra*, Jonas Sliupas (1861-1944). He contributed greatly to a Lithuanian sense of national identify through his editorship of *Unija* (1884-1885) and *Lietuviskasis Balsas* (*Lithuanian Voice*, 1885-1889), the first two Lithuanian newspapers on American soil. Sliupas' social activism and secular definition of Lithuanianism influenced the development of a viable Lithuanian economic immigrant community.

Sliupas' activist personality, evident early in his life, changed the course of history. He studied history, philosophy and law at the University of Moscow, from 1880 to 1881, and natural science at St. Petersburg University, in 1882. When he lost his right to study at any Russian university because of his part in student anti-government demonstrations, Sliupas worked with Georgi Plekhanov (1857-1918), the founder of Russian Marxism, in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1883, preparing revolutionary literature for smuggling into Czarist Russia. While there, Plekhanov asked him to return to Russia to aid the *Narodnaja Volia (Peoples Will)* activities committee.[59] He turned down the request, however, and instead accepted an invitation from a fellow University of Moscow medical student—Jonas Basanavicius—to become editor of *Ausra*. Through *Ausra*, he fired his virulence against Poles and the church in an effort to establish a separate identity for Lithuanians. He also glorified the pagan era and folk language, drawing on romantic philology. The newspaper sparked a Lithuanian consciousness in the late 1880s. Within a year, both Russian and German police hounded *Ausra*'s editor as a dangerous revolutionary.

By the summer of 1884, Sliupas fled Tilsit for New York, where, upon his arrival, he had two projects in mind. First, he hoped to forge a Lithuanian identity by separating Lithuanians from Poles. Secondly, he wanted to begin a Lithuanian language press modeled on

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[59]V. Cernickis, "J. Sliupo etines koncepcijos raida." *Lietuvos T.S.R. Mokslu akademijos darbai*, A Serija 4 (no. 41) t. (1972), pp. 54-55.

Ausra to combat economic oppression of immigrants, who were being transformed into industrial workers and coal miners. Consequently, Sliupas made his entrance into Lithuanian immigrant circles by helping Mykolas Tvarauskas to found *Unija*, the first Lithuanian language newspaper in America—published October 25, 1884, in New York City.[60] Using the newspaper editorship as a base, he tried to undercut clerical authority by not only attacking Polish clerics but also Lithuanian clerics sympathetic to Rome, labeling them tools of the "Roman crocodile" who wished to suppress working people.[61]

Due to friction between Sliupas and Tvarauskas, *Unija* ceased publication on April 25, 1885. The former editor of *Ausra* quickly began a second newspaper called *Lietuviskasis Balsas*. Before leaving New York for Chicago in 1886, he organized Lithuanian workers, who later took part in the Chicago Haymarket Square Riot, on May 4, 1886, where two Lithuanians were shot.[62] In 1889 Sliupas targeted the coal mining community of Shenandoah, Pennsylvania. He attempted to wrest control of a joint Polish-Lithuanian parish and to make it a purely Lithuanian one. Before this undertaking, Sliupas reached into clerical ranks to recruit allies for his cause. He wrote to his friend Reverend Alexandras Burba (1854-1898), then confined at the Gardinas Franciscan Friary, by Czarist police, for his activity in the fight for language control in the Vilnius area, inviting Burba to come to Shenandoah. Escaping from confinement, Burba joined Sliupas in the Pennsylvania mining town of Shenandoah in 1889. With behind-the-scenes aid from Sliupas, Burba secured his first pastoral post in Shenandoah and began to urge separation from Poles for the purpose of creating a purely Lithuanian parish.[63] Another Sliupas recruit for the Shenandoah struggle was an ex-priest named Vladislovas Dembskis (1831-1913). Dembskis, who led bands of armed Lithuanian peasants against Russians and Poles during the 1863

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[60]Antanas Milukas, *Amerikos Lietuviu Kronika 1868-1893* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Zvaigzde Spauda, 1931), pp. 15-16.

[61]Stasys Michelsonas, *Lietuviu iseivija Amerikoj* (South Boston, Massachusetts: Keleivis Press, 1961), p. 124.

[62]Michelsonas, *Lietuviu iseivija Amerikoj,* p. 51.

[63]Michelsonas, *Lietuviu iseivija Amerikoj,* p. 125.

revolt, fled to France, where he went on to become a member of the Paris Commune in 1871. When the commune collapsed, Dembskis joined Sliupas in his fight against Poles.

The Poles retained control in the Shenandoah parish struggle, but similar attempts were made in the Pennsylvania communities of Hazelton, Wilkes-Barre and Plymouth. Finally, in 1890, a purely Lithuanian parish named St. Casimir was founded in Plymouth, where Burba became pastor and served until his death in 1898. St. Casimir became Holy Cross Parish in 1892 and served as the center for a movement aimed at establishing purely Lithuanian parishes, a direct result of Sliupas' divisive tactics.

Through his journals, Jonas Sliupas not only urged Lithuanians to form their own parishes and societies, but also stressed the importance of education. His atheism and his labeling of the clergy as regressive and unenlightened, however, made him the center of ideological dissension. Fearful of the growth of anti-clerical socialist Lithuanian newspapers, as well as the powerful influence of Sliupas upon Lithuanian workers, the Roman Catholic hierarchy began a counterattack. The Catholic answer to Sliupas' *Lietuviskasis Balsas (Lithuanian Voice)* was *Wienibe Lietuvninku (Lithuanian Unity)*, in 1886. In 1889, by the time *Lietuviskasis Balsas* ceased publication, Sliupas' friend Burba took over the operations of *Wienibe Lietuvninky* where he continued to encourage Lithuanian separation from Poles. At the same time, Burba established good relations with Sliupas since both felt Lithuanians had enough external enemies without ideological friction. Each agreed that their ultimate goal was the same—that of fostering and strengthening a Lithuanian consciousness in their countrymen. The truce did not last long and Burba eventually broke all ties with Sliupas because of Sliupas' anti-cleric and socialist involvements.[64]

Subsequently, in 1894, Mt. Carmel became Sliupas' headquarters for his new newspaper *Nauja gadyne* (*New Era*, 1894-1896), in which he set goals for his anti-clerical, anti-capitalist battle in America. *Nauja Gadyne* was also the center of collection of funds for a projected future revolution aimed at breaking the power of the Czarist Empire. At the same time, Sliupas' newspaper chain was busy

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[64]Dr. Antanas Kucas, *Kunigas Antanas Staniukynas* (Rome: Lietuviu Kataliku Mokslo Akademijos Leidinys, 1965), p. 10.

drawing Lithuanian coal miners away from clerical control. Sister Anna Marie Rakauskas recalled hearing physician Sliupas speak before an audience of Lithuanian immigrants in Chicago's Bridgeport community in 1905:

> Jonas Sliupas was a speaker with a great deal of charisma. He hammered away with the theme that [Roman] Catholicism had been used as a weapon by the Poles to subjugate Lithuanians and that it was the root of weakness and downfall of the Lithuanian people. In order to rise as a people, Lithuanians must cast off the Polish poison and . . . embrace atheist liberalism.[65]

The Chicago nun recollected that Sliupas was banned from using parish halls; therefore, he used saloons, the gathering place of anti-clerical Lithuanians, for his speeches. She also recalled that a favorite speaking location was Jane Addams' Hull House, where Sliupas hammered away at the theme of economic oppression and the role of clerics in keeping *tamsus zmones* (unenlightened masses) submissive. For permitting Sliupas access to a forum, Hull House was boycotted by all loyal Roman Catholic Lithuanians in Chicago.

In order to retain loyalty to the Catholic Church, permission to establish purely Lithuanian parishes was granted. These parishes did not have a decisive role in shaping the character of the Lithuanian community, however, until the arrival of Antanas Milukas and Antanas Kaupas, in 1892, and Rev. Dr. Antanas Staniukynas, in 1904.

Antanas Milukas (1871-1943) emigrated to the United States in 1892, after being expelled from the Theological Seminary of Seinai, in 1891, for Lithuanian activities. Milukas had entered the seminary in 1888, following in the footsteps of his close friend Antanas Staniukynas (1865-1918). While in his last year at Seinai, Staniukynas and another seminarian, Tomas Zilinskas, formed a secret reading society that housed Lithuanian literature. They described their purpose as follows: 1. to show an awareness of their Lithuanian

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[65]Interview with Sister Anna Marie Rakauskas at the Motherhouse of the Sisters of St. Casimir, May 25, 1982.

heritage not only among themselves but also among the people by spreading Lithuanian contraband literature upon leaving the seminary; 2. to study Lithuanian language, literature and history and; 3. not only to speak the language wherever possible but also to teach others who are not as strong in its knowledge.[66] Staniukynas was ordained on June 15, 1889. Milukas followed him when he entered Seinai in the fall of that year, taking over his position as leader of the secret society. By 1889, the group decided not only to Lithuanianize the seminary, but also the entire Polanized Lithuanian Church. When Milukas and another seminarian, J. Sutkaitis, were expelled from Seinai, in 1891, for possession of contraband literature, Milukas crossed the border into East Prussia and edited *Varpas (The Bell)* while Sutkaitis went on to the United States, where he met with Alexandras Burba and informed him about Milukas. Since Burba was in need of a good editor for *Wienybe Lietuvninku*, he sent money and a passage ticket, and Milukas arrived at the onset of 1892 to edit the paper.[67]

In 1893, Milukas entered St. Charles Borromeo Seminary, located in the Philadelphia suburb of Overbrook. It was during this time that he befriended Antanas Kaupas (1870-1913), who had also emigrated to the United States in 1892. In Lithuania, Kaupas had been expelled not only from the Siauliai Gymnasium for expressing an interest in Darwin's theories but also from Kaunas Seminary for possession of *Ausra* and other contraband literature. After working in Chicago's stockyards for some time, Kaupas entered Detroit's St. Cyril and Methodius College and Seminary. As seminarians, Milukas and Kaupas formed Laurynas Ivinskis Draugija, whose purpose was to prepare the Lithuanian section of the Paris Exposition of 1900.[68] Upon their ordination in 1896, both men continued their friendship—a friendship in which one complimented the other.[69] To Milukas, publisher of Lithuanian books, periodicals and newspapers, Kaupas' literary talents proved to be essential. When Milukas invited his sister

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[66]Vladas Mingela, *Kun. Antanas Milukas: Jo gyvenimas ir darbai* (Detroit: Lietuviu Enciklopedijos Spaustuve, 1962) p. 54.

[67]Mingela, *Kun. Antanas Milukas*, p. 64.

[68]Mingela, *Kun. Antanas Milukas*, p. 258.

[69]Mingela, *Kun. Antanas Milukas*, p. 259.

Ona from Lithuania, in 1898, Kaupas also invited his sister Kazimiera (1880-1940), the future Mother Maria of Chicago's St. Casimir Congregation.

While visiting her brother in Pennsylvania, Kazimiera read St. Francis de Sales' book *Philiothea* (*Introduction to the Devout Life.* Homesick for her family, Kazimiera returned to Lithuania in 1901 where, a short time later, she decided to enter religious life in service of God and Lithuanians. The absence of a Lithuanian religious order for women in her day prompted her to write Milukas, who was then studying canon law in Fribourg, Switzerland from 1901 to 1902. Upon informing him of her plans to enter a convent and asking for advice, Milukas and Kazimiera exchanged letters about the idea of forming a Lithuanian congregation dedicated to the diffusion of the Lithuanian Roman Catholic press and education. Milukas felt that American Lithuanian Catholics should help establish and support one or more orders of nuns trained in running and publishing a printing house modeled on the Swiss Daughters of St. Paul.[70] He proposed that Kazimiera enter the Sisters of the Holy Cross in Switzerland, training there with the purpose of later establishing a Lithuanian convent on American soil. On October 27, 1902, Kazimiera and another candidate reached Ingenbohl, Switzerland, to begin such training.

The obstacles facing the newly proposed congregation were finding a co-founder or sponsor and a bishop who would receive them into his diocese. While Kaupas searched for a co-founder, Milukas had already been discussing that possibility with Staniukynas, who had emigrated under his auspices on July 16, 1904. By July 31 of that year, Milukas secured for Staniukynas the position of pastor at Mt. Carmel's Holy Cross Church. Milukas had never forgotten his friend, but rather financially helped him to study abroad. After receiving a Doctor of Theology from École Biblique in Jerusalem in 1901, Staniukynas returned to Lithuania only to be moved from parish to parish as well as to be pressured by Czarist authorities for his Lithuanian activities. On April 25, 1905, Staniukynas formally agreed

[70]Mingela, *Kun. Antanas Milukas*, pp. 260-1.

to co-found the Lithuanian congregation, assuming entire responsibility for Milukas' *Naujas Uzmanymas (The New Project).*[71]

When Maria Kaupas and her two candidate companions arrived in Scranton, Pennsylvania, on November 2, 1905, they served as novitiates with the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. In August of 1907, the Sisters of St. Casimir, the first Lithuanian teaching order of nuns, was founded. The new Sister Maria and her two companions began teaching at Holy Cross Parish School at Mt. Carmel, in January of 1908.

In 1909, Staniukynas found himself in Chicago, the largest center of Lithuanians concentrated in eight parishes. Recognizing a need for a Lithuanian order of teaching sisters, he convinced Archbishop James E. Quigley to permit the new teaching order to move to Chicago. Archbishop Quigley loaned the order $30,000 toward building a convent in southwest Chicago.[72] Staniukynas purchased a total of ten acres of marshy land for a low price, and work on the new Motherhouse began in September of 1909. By 1911, with the Motherhouse completed, the Sisters of St. Casimir had fully established themselves on the southwest side of Chicago—2601 West Marquette Road—between Rockwell and Talman Avenues. In 1913, Mother Maria was elected General Superior of the Congregation of St. Casimir and stayed in that position until her death in 1940.

As part of his program to insure funds for the growth of the congregation, Staniukynas founded the American Lithuanian Priests Association, in 1909. The organization, in turn, accepted the responsibility of not only supporting the St. Casimir Sisters and their schools, but also publishing *Draugas (The Friend).* The Catholic weekly *Draugas* originally appeared in Wilkes-Barre, in 1909, under the editorship of Father Kaupas. After the Motherhouse moved to Chicago, *Draugas* followed on July 4, 1912, relocating across the street from the convent.[73] Initially, the young newspaper struggled economically so that even its editor refused a salary. In a letter to

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[71]Mother Maria Kaupas, *The Founding of the Sisters of St. Casimir* (Chicago: Claret Center for Research in Spirituality, 1981), p. 93.

[72]Kucas, *Kunigas Antanas Staniukynas*, p. 112.

[73]Kucas, *Kunigas Antanas Staniukynas*, p. 127.

Kaupas, dated November 25, 1910, Staniukynas expounded on the motives behind the paper: "Our purpose is to work for unity. Let unity be like a magnet pulling us all together."[74] Three years later, Kaupas implied that Lithuanian churches fostered linguistic nationalism, when he said that

> They are all strong ethnic fortresses and guardians of the nationality of the Lithuanians in America. . . . It is thanks to the churches and the schools that many hundreds of thousands of Lithuanians have not been absorbed in the great nation. As long as the Lithuanians construct and maintain their churches and their schools, the name of the nationality of the Lithuanians will be maintained in the country of George Washington.[75]

In Chicago, Kaupas devoted full-time to editing *Draugas* until his death on October 27, 1913. In 1916, it became a daily newspaper, still in operation at its present location—4545 West 63rd Street.

Milukas initially wanted a press operated by an order of Lithuanian nuns. Staniukynas and Kaupas carried his idea a step further—they staffed *Draugas* with journalist priests and had the order of Lithuanian nuns dedicate themselves to dissemination of the Lithuanian written word by creating a pool of readers through their parish schools. Stasys Michelsonas, Lithuanian journalist-historian, noted that out of the 252,594 Lithuanian immigrants from the first wave, 177,166 could not read or write.[76] The Catholic press-school combination was a response to a string of Lithuanian language socialist evening schools created by Jonas Sliupas, who used these reading schools to recruit workers into unions and into his own organization, *Tevynes Myletojai (Lovers of the Homeland)*, with its headquarters in Chicago at *Sandara (The Covenant)*, a newspaper

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[74]Kucas, *Kunigas Antanas Staniukynas*, p. 126.

[75]Robert E. Park, *The Immigrant Press and Its Control* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1922), p. 54.

[76]Michelsonas, *Lietuviu iseivija Amerikoj*, p. 150.

originally founded by him in 1909. In operation as a bi-weekly, in 1983 the paper had a circulation of 2,083.[77] In 1914, *Naujienos (The News)* began to operate as an anti-Catholic Chicago newspaper, with readership mainly drawn from *Sandara* circles. Without a parish school system to introduce children to their views, the anti-clerical Lithuanians became a minority while "Lithuanian" and "Roman Catholic" became popularly synonymous in the Lithuanian community. The influence is clearly seen by the addition of schools to parishes in Chicago (table 3).

In order to gain insight into the Lithuanian diaspora, it was important to digest the evolution of not only Lithuanianism but also its opposing factor, neither of which subscribed to a universalist creed. Since Lithuania had historically been a thought-receiving society from the more Westernized Poles, it had only one option when throwing away a spiritually imposed yoke from the idea-sending West—namely, linguistic and cultural nationalism. The object of worship for both Lithuanian atheists and Roman Catholic leaders of the immigrant generation was first, the totem of language and folk history, and second, the Christian Cross. Since a Lithuanian identity was not the product of a historically evolved nation and Lithuanians were not politically recognized as a territorial subdivision of mankind, the inner vitality boundary line became language that, in turn, became the object of worship. Sociologist Stonequist was prompted to make just such an observation in his comparison of the rise of a Lithuanian consciousness to the birth of a religion, which translated into linguistic nationalism. When seen in this light, both Slipuas and his followers, as well as those remaining in the church, were loyal to an ethnic group bound not by Roman Catholicism or any political creed but by language as a natural boundary.

EARNING A LIVING

Lithuanian nationalists came to the United States to "awaken" a Lithuanian spirit among those who had emigrated. Because their work in the churches and schools was mostly among those who discovered their Lithuanianism after they had lived in the United

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[77] *Sandara*, 19 (October 17, 1983), p. 6.

States, ties of sentiment, not connected to the struggle in Lithuania, identified these immigrants. While there was no real basis for the acculturation of clerics like Kaupas, due to their independence from the American economy and primary friendship/intermarriage groups, the first wave immigrants were not immune to American society. Because there was an incentive to learn English and to become occupationally and geographically integrated, the Lithuanian language and culture could not be used to build a new country in urban America in the way that ideology could be used to create a new country out of a Czarist province, where, in contrast, the rise of linguistic nationalism among the peasantry created an apolitical definition of nationality. Likewise, there was only one way to aid Lithuania—namely, by entering the arena of politics and economics, which meant use of English through contact and cooperation with non-Lithuanians. Thus, every move to aid the homeland enmeshed Lithuanians deeper into American society.

Arriving without any education, industrial or occupational training, Lithuanians entered the lowest level of the American work force—the coal mines, garment shops, textile and shoe factories, steel mills and foundries, oil refineries, and packing houses. As a result of their occupational profile, a large number of Lithuanian colonies were formed in urban America.

Though most never rose above their social and economic class in America, there were many who, once having learned basic English, ventured into entrepreneurial enterprises. Ethnic business enterprises attracted immigrants lacking boldness, as well as knowledge, to venture outside their own group. The custom of mutual assistance between neighbors sharing in field work found an outlet in enterprises centered around self-help associations. Of such associations, the savings and loan associations and banking proved particularly attractive. Savings and loan associations enabled members to accumulate savings geared toward buying a home and to create favorable conditions for lending out monies. Material progress of Lithuanians in Chicago was tied to successful operation of these associations.

According to a story narrated by Antanas Olsauskas to Lithuanian chronicler Aleksas Ambrose, the first Lithuanian bank in Chicago formed quite by accident in 1896. Friends and acquaintances of Olsauskas, who emigrated to the United States in 1889 and opened

a printing shop with a bookstore and trans-Atlantic travel services by 1893, began bringing him their monies for safekeeping until needed. Olsauskas used these monies to reinvest, as well as invest, in other endeavors. When the number of people increased, however, and he underestimated a sum of money that one "depositor" came to withdraw by ten dollars, he opened up "Olszewski Bank" and began printing his own bank deposit booklets.[78]

Known as the workingman's bank, savings and loan associations operated by systematically saving and lending its assets to its members in order to help them acquire homes and other material wealth.[79] Lithuanian immigrants had organized about thirty of these workingman's banks, between 1897 and 1926, twenty of which were in Illinois.[80]

The first Lithuanian savings and loan association in Chicago organized itself in Bridgeport in 1897, under the name "Kestutis Loan and Building Association No. 1." According to First Federal Bank Chairman of the Board, Albert J. Aukers, son of immigrant Lithuanians who initially settled in Pottsville, Pennsylvania, in 1905,

> The association started in the back room of a tavern on 33rd Street, between Halsted Street and Auburn—later renamed Lituanica. In the room in back of the tavern were rows of numbered shaving mugs which became the depositories of each saver and which were recorded in a ledger. At the end of each business day, the funds were deposited in a regular bank for safekeeping since there was no vault. These funds, in turn, were loaned to people in the community for their home needs. . . . When the bank crash happened in the 1930s, most of these institutions survived since home ownership was important enough for the

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[78]Aleksas Ambrose, *Chicagos Lietuviu istorija* (Chicago: Naujienos Press, 1967), p. 325.

[79]Ambrose, *Chicagos Lietuviu istorija*, p. 316.

[80]Arunas Ališauskas, "Lithuanians" in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. by Stephen Thernstrom (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 668.

> Lithuanian clients to maintain their mortgage payments.[81]

The bank remained a predominantly Lithuanian institution until 1952, when it became District Savings and Loan Association. In 1967, as Union Federal Savings and Loan Association, it branched out to serve Chicagoland and northern Illinois, thereby losing its ethnic character. In 1983, Union Federal merged with First Federal Savings and Loan Association and became a subsidiary of First National City Bank of New York, the largest bank in the United States.

Other ethnic banks and associations followed. For example, in 1909, the Grand Duke Gediminas Savings and Loan Association started on Chicago's southwest side with Justinas Mackevicius as association secretary. By 1938, the association opened its doors under the name of Standard Federal Savings and Loan Association at Archer and Sacramento. It has a tradition of making generous donations to Lithuanian organizations.[82]

Mutual Federal Savings and Loan Association also formed under similar circumstances, acquiring a state charter in 1905 under the name Simano Daukanto Building and Loan Association. Lithuanians on the West Side, mostly from the Panevezys area in Lithuania, had pooled $86.50 at Mike Mildazius' Tavern at 2242 West 23rd Street. Association president, Peter Kazan recalled his father Benediktas J. Kazanauskas describing the original banking operation at the tavern as consisting of racks stacked on the wall in tiers of five. Each rack had a passbook that was never removed. Each patron set his own savings goal for each week. Once the goal was reached, the association would pay out the money to the depositor for home purchase.[83] The association remained at the original site until 1933,

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[81]Interview with Albert J. Aukers, Chairman of the Board, First Federal Savings and Loan Association, April 4, 1984.

[82]Ambrose, *Chicagos Lietuviu istorija*, p. 320 and interview with David Mackiewich, January 26, 1984; *Brighton Park Life—McKinley Park Newspaper* (January 1983), Obituary and biography of Justin Mackiewich, Jr., p. 1.

[83]Interview with Peter Kazan-Kazanauskas, President of Mutual Federal Savings and Loan Association, March 7, 1984.

when it moved to 2202 West Cermak Road, opening its doors to all ethnic groups. On September 11, 1940, it changed its name to Mutual Federal and Loan Association of Chicago.

The name of Brighton Savings and Loan Association, until its merger with First Federal Savings and Loan Association in 1981, was Gediminas Building and Loan Association, originally a store front office in 1914. According to Helen Klaud, financial records secretary, large numbers of Lithuanians from Immaculate Conception Church were the mainstay of this home purchasing-oriented association until its move to Archer Avenue, where it began to serve the entire Brighton Park area.[84]

In 1922, St. Anthony Parish Savings and Homestead Association of Grant Works received a charter from the State of Illinois. It began its operations in the parish school in Cicero with $1,000 in assets. The name was changed, in 1940, to St. Anthony Savings and Loan Association. According to Joseph R. Gribauskas, its executive secretary since 1939,

> The Great Depression did not harm the association of Grant Works, an early name for Cicero, because members helped each other with mortgage payments. Of four savings and loan associations in the neighborhood, only ours survived the Depression.[85]

In 1983, as St. Anthony Federal Savings and Loan Association, it widened operations beyond Cicero by opening a branch in Willowbrook. The bank supports Lithuanian organizations in the Chicago area and remains under Lithuanian-American control.

In 1923, Lithuanian News and Loan Building Association originated in the small quarters of *Naujienos* newspaper. At that time, the newspaper's readers pooled $1,000 under the initiative of its first president, Kazimieras P. Gudis, its editor, Pijus Grigaitis, and their

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[84]Interview with Helen Klaud, Financial Records Secretary at Brighton Savings and Loan Association, January 3, 1984.

[85]Gribauskas letter dated February 16, 1984, in author's possession.

circle of friends.[86] In 1940, the name changed to Universal Savings and Loan Association. According to its long-term president, Paul J. Ridikas (a Bridgeport funeral home director), and assistant vice president, Grazina Micevicius, the bank remains under Lithuanian-American control. As a neighborhood institution, it serves the large Spanish-speaking immigrant community in the Canalport section of Bridgeport.[87]

The Brothers of Lithuania Building and Loan Association began in 1914. Changing its name to Midland Savings and Loan Association by 1929, the association had several branches in both Chicago and surrounding suburbs by 1983.

The 1970s saw the last of the small Lithuanian neighborhood banks being bought out by larger banking institutions. For example, in 1975, Standard Federal Savings and Loan Association bought out Crane Savings and Loan Association. Chicago Lithuanian Savings and Loan Association, which opened in 1924, concentrated on creating conditions for Lithuanians to build homes in the Marquette Park area. By 1938, the association dropped its ethnic identification and became Chicago Savings and Loan Association. By the early 1980s, it merged into Great American Federal Savings and Loan Association of Oak Park.[88]

Most Lithuanians came from agricultural areas in which family and neighbors cared for primary group needs from the cradle to the grave. Arriving in an industrial urban society, they formed associations as substitutes for a familial aid system. After first serving those within the ethnic community, they extended their business to those outside the community and, in the process, began identifying the associations as American institutions. Prominent banker Albert Aukers summarized the Americanization of the first wave and their progeny:

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[86]Minutes of Lithuanian News and Loan Building Association, March 22, 1923, p. 3. (March 1923-March 1935 association ledger). Universal Savings and Loan Association, 1800 South Halsted Street, Chicago.

[87]Interview with Paul J. Ridikas, President, and Grazina Micevicius, Vice President, Universal Savings and Loan Association, February 8, 1983.

[88]Ambrose, *Chicagos Lietuviu istorija,* p. 316.

> Those of us who were born here and entered into business associations with Americans outside the ethnic community lost interest in the Lithuanian identity of our parents and became Americans with all roots in America. As businessmen, we were no longer part of a closed community.[89]

Because many immigrants frequented only businesses that had Lithuanian-speaking personnel, they created a monopoly for Lithuanian businessmen who formed a bridge between them and their receiving society. In turn, these associations provided a means to propel their most energetic leaders out of the closed ethnic community. Material gain advanced Americanization not only for the most enterprising members but also for the average person. For example, eighty-three-year-old Suzana Naura, who arrived from Lithuania, in 1921, as a young girl, stated

> In Lithuania, I was a servant girl without any hope of changing my situation. In America, I own my own home and all of my three children own homes. Lithuania gave me nothing. America gave me everything.[90]

Impoverished Lithuanians came to America because there was no chance for a decent life in the homeland. They embraced America as a superior society and did not see themselves as culture bearers or cultural preservers of the Lithuanian language, which, even in Lithuania, was seen as a serf tongue.

Since entrance to a culture is through language, the embracing of English served as a catalyst to dissolve the cultural base of Chicago's first- and second-generation American-born Lithuanian community. Lithuanian-speaking children were introduced to English in both public and parish schools. For example, Chicago-born banker Peter Kazan-Kazanauskas recalled that he spoke only Lithuanian until age six, when he entered the first grade at Our Lady of Vilna Parish

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[89]Interview with Albert Aukers, March 15, 1984.

[90]Interview with Suzana Naura, July 8, 1979.

School.[91] There, both languages were used—prayers in Lithuanian and classroom subjects in English. Since Lithuanian was weaker, one-way language transfer occurred once these children learned English. The children became automatic English language bearers into homes where the prestige of Lithuanian was already low. For example, Estelle Savickas, of the Savickas banking family and mother of Illinois State Senator Frank D. Savickas (15th District), recalled that

> In the 1920s, 30s and 40s, we were ashamed to speak Lithuanian because it would label us as foreigners. We did not use our parents' language and our children had no interest in it. Most of our people were uneducated and our image was of a stupid people.[92]

By selecting English, the first wave lost its Lithuanian identity when the second-generation American-born removed themselves from the immigrant group of their grandfathers, thereby completing the cycle of Americanization. When the ethnic label of Lithuanian was subscribed to, it did not conform to a "nationality" identity but to a sentimental tie without being privy to its language, culture, or historical profile.

In order for first wave members to succeed, they had to enter mainstream America via economics. The Kazan-Kazanauskas family was a classic example of this type of reasoning. Even though Benediktas was originally a foundry worker in Chicago, his son Peter recalled that his father entered real estate at the same time that he served as secretary of the Simano Daukanto Building and Loan Association, passing the Illinois real estate examination, the brokers examination, and the insurance examination—all in English. By bettering himself economically, he not only brought his brother and sister to Chicago, but also became involved in Lithuanian economics. As secretary of the *Lietuvos Ukininku Draugija* (Lithuanian Farmers Association), he appropriated funds for that semi-clandestine

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[91]Interview with Peter Kazan-Kazanauskas, March 7, 1984.

[92]Interviews with Estelle Savickas, Wife of deceased Frank Savickas, Sr., Executive Secretary of Chicago Savings and Loan Association, March 4 and 15, 1984.

organization's land purchase program in Lithuania. After the end of Czarist rule, Kazan-Kazanauskas and other prominent Lithuanian-American organizers channeled approximately $100 million to Lithuania in the first half of the twentieth century.[93]

Lithuanians in America took a keen interest in the formation of an independent Lithuanian state. Shortly after hearing the news of the independence proclamation of February 16, 1918, in Vilnius, a "Petition for Lithuanian Independence" was launched in every Lithuanian settlement in the United States, which culminated in a collection of 138 books containing one million signatures.[94] This type of ethnic activity prompted Marcus Lee Hansen to observe that

> Studies might very well show that new ethnic nations arose in Central and Eastern Europe after World War I only because active immigrant colonies in America, over one or two generations, nurtured the ideal of independence for their homelands, and at critical moments in history provided money as well as political pressure.[95]

Hansen's observation also held true in the case of the Lithuanians, who not only aided their former homeland politically during critical moments but also played a dominant economic role in transforming the former backward Russian province into an image of "Little America." Besides the million signature petition drive, Chicago's Lithuanian community packed 12,000 people into the Seventh Regimental Armory at Wentworth and 34th Street, on August 24, 1919, to attend the send-off ceremony of a replica of America's Liberty Bell to Lithuania in a project costing $16,290.96.[96]

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[93] Interview with Peter Kazan-Kazanauskas, March 7, 1984.

[94] Vincentas Liulevicius, *Iseivijos vaidmuo: nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkurimo darbe* (Chicago: M. Morkunas Press, 1981), p. 48.

[95] Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Immigrant in American History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), p. 212.

[96] Liulevicius, *Iseivijos vaidmuo*, pp. 50-52.

Lithuania's economic condition was summed up by a 1920 Lithuanian government's report bluntly stating that 40,000 Lithuanian-Americans spending $1,000 each could buy almost everything in the country.[97] The Lithuanian Americans recognized the economic needs of the newly declared nation. During 1919, Lithuania completed several projects with Lithuanian-American initiative and money. For example, a much-welcomed one hundred railroad car train came, carrying a value of $5,000,000 in clothing from American military depots in France. Since the Lithuanian state was unable to move this gift themselves, Lithuanian-Americans paid for the transportation costs—about $75,000.[98] Arejas Vitkauskas, a veteran of that era, recalled traveling on the train in 1919:

> . . . in every car there were loads of uniforms. In 1919, I was wearing, strangely enough, an American uniform there, though it was marked with the yellow neck stripes of a sergeant of the then very new and very small Lithuanian army. The uniforms had come from American warehouses in France. . . .[99]

Recipients of the clothing included not only the ill-clad volunteers of the Lithuanian army but also needy civilians. According to an interview with Lithuanian historian Vincentas Liulevicius, Jonas Sliupas secured the grant via private contracts, while attending sessions for the Treaty of Versailles, in June of 1919. It is important to bear in mind that during its existence, Lithuania did not receive foreign aid from the United States. Lithuanians in America not only put clothes on the back of the Lithuanian army but also footed the bill for the Republic of Lithuania representatives at Versailles, in 1919. The Lithuanian-American community funded the delegation to

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[97]Alfred Erich Senn, *The Emergence of Modern Lithuania* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 207.

[98]Kazys Gineitis, *Amerika ir Amerikos Lietuviai* (Kaunas, Lithuania: Autoriaus Leidinys, 1925), p. 293.

[99]Arejas Vitkauskas, "Dancing with Generals," *Sandara*, 14 (August 1984), p. 5.

Versailles with $112,305—money for travel, housing and other expenses for the group.[100]

Besides the clothing windfall and a replica of the symbol of American freedom, Chicago's Lithuanians sent material aid in 1919 in the form of fifty tons of clothing and $60,000 in cash to the newly created Lithuanian Red Cross.[101] Since the Lithuanian Red Cross had no treasury to pay transportation costs from Chicago to Lithuania, Stanley Balzekas, Sr., covered the shipping cost. Balzekas also donated space on his Chicago properties to serve as collection points for the project.[102]

The Lithuanian Red Cross itself was created by Aldona Sliupas' American-born daughter of Jonas Sliupas, who graduated from Women's Medical College in Philadelphia (1908). She practiced medicine in New York City, until 1917, when she traveled to St. Petersburg to supervise the evacuation of Lithuanians from Russia. In 1919, she joined Herbert Hoover's Fund Administration Mission and coordinated supplies between the Lithuanian Red Cross and the American Red Cross. Her uncle, Rokas Sliupas, co-founder of the Lithuanian Red Cross, had served as a doctor in the Russian Army during World War I. Thus, there was a Lithuanian-American connection on both the sending side and the receiving end of relief supplies from Chicago.

Large-scale investment by Lithuanian-Americans also contributed to the modernization and growth of the country's industry and commerce. For instance, in 1920, a shipment of 10,000 barrels of gasoline valued at $115,000 arrived from America. Sale of the gasoline in both Lithuania and Latvia netted $135,000, capital used to set up industrial plants in Lithuania.[103] Rubas Clothing Corporation of Chicago, founded in 1920, raised capital needed to create tailoring concerns in Lithuania. With minimal service costs and over $100,000

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[100]*Lietuviu Enciklopedija* (South Boston, Massachusetts: Lietuviu Enciklopedija Press, 1955), Vol. X, p. 55, and Vol. XVI, pp. 97-98.

[101]Liulevicius, *Iseivijos vaidmuo*, p. 235.

[102]Interview with Stanley Balzekas, Sr., August 24, 1984.

[103]Antanas Kucas, *Lithuanians in America* (South Boston, Massachusetts: Encyclopedia Lituanica Press, 1975), pp. 253-4.

for salaries, garment making came to Lithuania.[104] Other American firms, such as Drobe, started eighty centers in Lithuania for teaching modern wool processing procedures.[105] Lithuanian-Americans also created Lithuania's International Bank in 1920, with a working capital of $100,000.[106] That same year, 1920, saw Jonas Sliupas return to Lithuania and launch *Lietuvos Garlaiviu Akcine Bendrove* (Lithuanian Ocean Liner Association), with $100,000 initial capital.[107] An organization named Lithuanians of America Business Association *(Amerikos Lietuviu Prekybos Bendrove),* in 1921, founded Lithuania's first international air service, the "Kaunas-Königsberg Air Line."[108]

The years that followed brought more aid in a variety of ways. Between 1920 and 1921, about 5,000 Lithuanians traveled to the new country, bringing $2,815,000 with them. Numerous fund-raising projects saw large sums of money channeled to Lithuania in the first decade of independence. For example, in 1919, a Republic of Lithuania financial mission to America asked immigrants to buy Lithuanian bonds purchasable either by American money or government bonds. By mid 1923, $1,848,150 was invested in Lithuanian banks, of which $401,500 was purchased in Chicago.[109] Encouraged by monetary and material support from America, the Lithuanian government launched the Gold-Silver fund in 1921, which put Lithuanian currency on a gold standard.[110] According to the country's postal authorities, mails from America, in 1926, contained $2,890,000; in 1927, $2,680,000; and in 1928, $2,600,000. Besides channeling monies via the postal service, Lithuanian bank estimates

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[104]Kucas, *Lithuanians in America*, p. 255.

[105]Kucas, *Lithuanians in America*, p. 255.

[106]Kucas, *Lithuanians in America*, p. 254.

[107]Liulevicius, *Iseivijos vaidmuo*, p. 250.

[108]Liulevicius, *Iseivijos vaidmuo*, p. 248.

[109]Liulevicius, *Iseivijos vaidmuo*, p. 254.

[110]Liulevicius, *Iseivijos vaidmuo*, p. 259.

showed that $600,000 entered the country in checks. In the period 1926-1929, Lithuania received $10,510,000 or about $3,500,000 annually from America.[111] Of interest is the fact that prior to the outbreak of World War I, Antanas Olsauskas' bank alone had forwarded $4,000,000 to Lithuania between 1895 and 1914.[112]

A December 31, 1954, report to the United States House of Representatives recorded that "Lithuania had 151 industrial establishments with . . . 6,603 employees" in 1913. By 1920, industrial enterprises with five or more employees increased to 2,474. This number sharply rose to 6,131 by 1939, with a total of 33,000 workers employed.[113] Vladas Putvinskis-Putvys, organizer of Lithuania's volunteer army, summarized the contribution and spirit of Lithuanians abroad when he remarked that Lithuanian-Americans had become the greatest asset to Lithuania's struggle. Not only had they given it moral supportt, but they also helped to set the country on its feet through their most generous monetary contributions. "Though not in Lithuania, our brothers across the ocean were the real builders of independent Lithuania."[114] As observed earlier, when the immigrants arrived from Lithuania, they had no defined nationality. Witnessing from afar the entry of a Lithuanian nation taking its place beside other independent nations served to develop an ethnic consciousness that translated into a nationalistic ethnic group as defined by University of Chicago researcher John Patrick White. As successful economic immigrants, who embraced Americanization via citizenship and its attendant political rights, they translated their own areas of concern into calling for political freedom for Lithuania with economic aid and investment.

In spite of mutual concerns, a difference in "world view" developed between the Lithuanians abroad and those in the home country—a difference best illustrated by an incident that Chicago

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[111]Liulevicius, *Iseivijos vaidmuo*, p. 237.

[112]Liulevicius, *Iseivijos vaidmuo*, p. 236.

[113]Leonardas Simutis, *Amerikos Lietuviu Taryba: 30 metu Lietuvos laisves kovoje 1940-1970* (Chicago: Draugas Press, 1971), p. 437.

[114]Liulevicius, *Iseivijos vaidmuo*, p. 259.

businessman Stanley Balzekas, Sr., experienced upon his visit to Lithuania in 1930. After clearing the customs station at Eidkunai on the East Prussian-Lithuanian border, he offered to buy for and share dinner with a local customs official. Balzekas' friendly gesture was rebuffed with "We don't sit with workers."[115] His six-week vacation left him with the impression that Lithuania had a distaste for working class people: "I am an ordinary person. I am proud of myself and my accomplishments. Titles and uniforms do not impress me. A person's values and the quality of his life are what count."[116] Balzekas' came back from his travels with the view that the country was very poor and ridden with class bias.

A Lithuanian writer of that time period, Kazys Gineitis, University of Chicago Ph.D. in economics, analyzed this attitude of superiority toward their American brothers. He chided Lithuanians for taking money from them without having any interest for and understanding of the spirit in which it was given. He further pointed out that if they didn't begin to recognize and understand them soon, they might find the gap between the two factions unbridgeable.[117] Mincing no words, Gineitis wrote,

> We caught the gentry disease from our neighbor to the east; . . . a . . . sickness . . . that can bring us no good, and in this respect Lithuanian-Americans could be our healers. When a department secretary cannot close a window . . . but beckons a servant for this task . . . the symptoms of a great disease have started.[118]

The attitude that Gineitis observed and pointed out became more apparent when the second wave Lithuanians arrived a quarter century later—an attitude that created a wider gap between the two groups and

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[115]Balzekas, Sr., interview, August 24, 1984.

[116]Balzekas, Sr., interview, August 24, 1984.

[117]Gineitis, *Amerika ir Amerikos Lietuviai*, p. 305.

[118]Gineitis, *Amerika ir Amerikos Lietuviai*, p. 304.

which indeed became unbridgeable. Thus, Gineitis foreshadowed the psychological difference or "gap" between the first wave economic immigrants and the post-World War II exiles.

POLITICS

The history of Lithuanian entry into Chicago business and politics parallels the life of Stanley Balzekas, Sr., executive president of the Lithuanian Chamber of Commerce. Coming from Ukmerge on a ticket purchased by his brother, Balzekas arrived in Chicago, in 1912 at age 20, working in a Bridgeport butcher shop for the first six months. He recalled that at that time almost all Bridgeport was Lithuanian. In 1913, he bought his own butcher shop in Brighton Park, followed by four more between 1914 and 1915. He "hired people according to their ability. Fifty percent were Lithuanian and fifty percent were other ethnics."[119] Balzekas had thirty-five full-time employees in 1919 when he sold the chain of butcher shops at a profit. Before undertaking more complex business ventures, he left Chicago to study business administration and law at Valparaiso University in Indiana.

Located only forty miles from Chicago, Valparaiso's policy of accepting students regardless of age, lack of formal education and little knowledge of spoken or written English attracted immigrants. Dubbed "Potatohead University," Valparaiso's accessibility to unlettered immigrants acted as a magnet for ambitious young Lithuanians who were drawn there by word of mouth. It attracted its first Lithuanian students, mostly from Chicago, as early as 1905, when thirteen were on campus.[120]

Soon after Balzekas arrived at Valparaiso University in 1919, Al Heineman, the richest man in Valparaiso, turned over the operation of three cinemas to him—Lincoln Theatre, Shellings Music Hall and Opera Hall. In 1920, Heineman, his son-in-law Tyler and Balzekas formed a car dealership with Balzekas as manager. Using the four businesses not only for income but also as places of employment for

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[119]Interview with Stanley Balzekas, Sr., July 1, 1984.

[120]Ambrose, *Chicagos Lietuviu istorija*, p. 351.

students and friends, Balzekas helped to attract fifty-five more Lithuanian students from Chicago. Besides providing grants, loans and employment, he also helped buy animals and supplies for a farm owned by the university and operated by student labor in exchange for food and tuition. Among those receiving financial support were John T. Zuris, future judge of the Municipal Court in Chicago, Petras Dausvardis and Antanas Kalvaitis, future Consul Generals of the Republic of Lithuania in Chicago. Balzekas' policy of never turning down an ambitious student, whose aim was to better his position in life, prompted many to remember his kindness upon their return as businessmen, bankers, lawyers and civil servants.[121]

By the time he returned to Chicago in 1923, steeped in the latest business theory and law, Balzekas had made friends with the future Lithuanian-American elite of Chicago. His car sales and dealership management at Valparaiso introduced him to a new area of business. Using his own capital, he entered the car business in Chicago, in 1923, acquiring new friends and an excellent reputation for reasonable and honest deals. When the Great Depression of 1929 hit, Balzekas' business philosophy rapidly increased his holdings and helped him make new inroads into the non-Lithuanian community. He recalled that

> The Depression did not harm me because I had $98,000 in a safe deposit box. . . . I bought cars at ten percent of their value. At the same time, I provided free transportation, clothes and food to needy friends . . . including Chicago aldermen. . . . Afterwards, my friends repaid me . . . and aldermen told me not to hesitate to ask for anything within their power.[122]

After the Depression, many grateful friends returned loaned monies, patronized his business and sent their friends as customers. Life-long relationships developed from these initial contacts.

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[121]Balzekas, Sr., interview, July 1, 1984.

[122]Balzekas, Sr., interview, July 1, 1984.

Consequently, Balzekas found himself in a position to set standards for Chicago's Lithuanian businessmen and professionals. Calling three of these friends, Zuris, John B. Brenza, and Justin Mackevicius (Mackiewich) together in 1933, Balzekas suggested that they act as a nucleus to form a new Lithuanian Chamber of Commerce. Thus, the Lithuanian Chamber of Commerce (LCC) was founded in June of 1933 with sixteen businessmen and lawyers.[123] Becoming its program chairman, Balzekas set the rule that all formal and informal events of the LCC would be conducted in English in order to accommodate guests and visitors. Because he felt that the Lithuanian business community should have the latest knowledge, Balzekas held monthly information meetings starting with his friend William H. Spencer, dean of the University of Chicago Business School. The speakers and their topics, some of which remain in Balzekas' file, reveal the fact that they were not restricted to ethnic interests but rather geared to integrating Lithuanian businessmen into Chicago's trading community.

The use of the English language at all formal and informal chamber events indicated a high degree of Americanization. By selecting the English language, the Lithuanian Chamber of Commerce declared itself a nationalistic ethnic group and not a nationality or immigrant group. The nationality became American, reducing ethnicity to a common heritage and sentiment for "the old country."

When John Patrick White, a doctoral candidate at the University of Chicago, studied Chicago Lithuanians of the late 1930s and early 1940s, he called them a "nationalistic group," explaining that

> The Chicago politician does not refer to 'immigrants' or even to 'nationality groups', but to 'nationalistic groups'. . . . [indicating] the ideological and psychological attitudes of immigrants and their children. . . .[124]

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[123]*Chicagos Vadovas: Lithuanian Chamber of Commerce of Illinois* (Chicago: M. Morkunas Press, 1952), p. 73.

[124]John Patrick White, "Lithuanians and the Democratic Party: A Case Study of Nationality Politics in Chicago and Cook County" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1953), p. 3.

White's definition of a nationalistic group as a ". . . self-conscious ethnic group composed of immigrants and their descendents, which is politically organized . . . to secure increased 'recognition'. . . ."[125] described the LCC and its political ideals. Since the LCC shared the ideals of American political nationalism, it exerted its energy and resources toward those interests outside the community. For example, those members interested in politics came to Balzekas and the Chamber for endorsements and donations. Democratic and Republican Party office seekers benefited because the LCC endorsed candidates "on the theory that Lithuanians should be supported, regardless of party."[126]

Interest in politics outside of the Lithuanian community further served to enmesh Lithuanian-Americans deeper into American society, with the original fraternal immigrant organizations becoming efficient agents in Americanizing the most talented sons of the first-generation Lithuanians. For example, when White interviewed Anthony Olis after his 1946 re-election as president of the Sanitary District Board of Cook County with 1,015,374 votes, Olis remarked that he

> . . . was very active in various kinds of Lithuanian organizations, and . . . well-known in the Lithuanian community. . . . This was the decisive thing in my nomination.[127]

Estimating he was backed by 95 percent of his ethnic group in his 1951 election to Cook Country Treasurer, John B. Brenza clearly made a nationalistic statement when he said that

> It is becoming obvious . . . that good nationality support wins elections. The Democrats have proved that for many years now. Look at Dick Daley. He

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[125]White, "Lithuanians and the Democratic Party," p. 3.

[126]White, "Lithuanians and the Democratic Party," p. 45.

[127]White, "Lithuanians and the Democratic Party," p. 40.

> gets tremendous majorities in his ward because he has Poles and the Lithuanians lined up.[128]

Brenza's statement further exemplified White's idea that the integration of a nationalistic group into American political life might impel members of the group to utilize characteristic modes of American political behavior in order to gain their ends.[129] Following Brenza's election, Lithuanian journalist Pijus Grigaitis commented that "The Poles thought he was a Pole, the Lithuanians thought he was Lithuanian, and some Italians even thought he was Italian. No wonder he was elected."[130] Grigaitis' observation implied that a nationalistic forum was at play in Brenza's election. In a parallel fashion, Samuel Lubell, in his study of the political development of Italian immigrants, noted their political impotence as long as they stayed poor and ignorant:

> It was as they emerged from the social cellar and got their first whiffs of the fresher, middle-class air that their political spirits quickened. The key to the political progress of any minority in this country would seem to lie in just this success in developing their own middle class. . . . to be effective, numbers must be supported by economic, educational and social progress.[131]

The elections of Olis (Republican), son of Antanas Olsauskas, John T. Zuris (Democrat), and other Lithuanians like John F. Kimbark (Democratic Assessor of Cicero) served as a proud incentive to consider further moves into the American area.

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[128]White, "Lithuanians and the Democratic Party," p. 189.

[129]White, "Lithuanians and the Democratic Party," p. 5.

[130]White, "Lithuanians and the Democratic Party," p. 197.

[131]Samuel Lubell, *The Future of American Politics* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), p. 75, as quoted by White in "Lithuanians and the Democratic Party," p. 6.

By act and example, Olis and Brenza led their ethnic group away from immigrant norms and toward Americanization. Along with others, they pooled money and made the transition from Lithuanian-centered concerns to American-centered concerns tinged with sentimental ties to their parents' homeland. The vehicle had been education, business and politics.

Thus, the prestige and opportunities of the dominant culture had acted as a magnet to draw ambitious individuals into an American orbit. The dynamics in the assimilation of the first wave Lithuanian economic immigrants into American society can be directly related to what Milton M. Gordon termed as "structural assimilation"—that is, immigrants and their families entering on a primary group level into personal relationships with members of the host society (table 4). The structural assimilation of the first wave immigrant resulted in ". . . the disappearance of the ethnic group as a separate entity and the evaporation of its distinctive values" because, according to Gordon,

> Once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow.[132]

Americanization of the first wave Lithuanian immigrants—operating from the very start with a political frame of reference—proceeded over the years in every phase of life. Every advance, occupationally and educationally, served to Americanize them. There were no historical, ideological or mental barriers. Once a Lithuanian speaker had mastered English, the doors to linguistic transfer opened. Because the weaker language (Lithuanian) was relegated to the home or to limited hours of classroom use with no prospect for wider use with the ever expanding range of contacts, a Lithuanian could also be an American since both operated within a common frame of reference—namely, American political ideology.

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[132]Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 81.

RELATIONS WITH THE OLD WORLD

On September 1, 1939, when Nazi Germany invaded Poland from the West, armed forces of the U.S.S.R. moved into the disintegrating Polish state from the East while Lithuanian forces moved into Polish-controlled Vilnius, historic capital of Lithuania, and remained neutral in the ensuing war. Lithuanian neutrality had its origin in the July 12, 1920, Treaty of Peace between Lithuania and the Russian Socialist State in which delegates representing V. I. Lenin agreed that

> Russia recognizes without reservation the sovereign rights and independence of the Lithuanian State, with all the juridical consequences arising from such recognition, and voluntarily and for all time abandons all the sovereign rights of Russia over the Lithuanian people and their territory.
>
> The fact of the past subjugation of Lithuania to Russia does not impose on the Lithuanian nation and its territory any liabilities whatsoever towards Russia.[133]

Article 2 of the Treaty of Nonaggression, signed September 28, 1926, between the Republic of Lithuania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, stated that the two nations ". . . undertake to respect in all circumstances each others' sovereignty and territorial integrity and inviolability."[134] Communicated to the League of Nations by the accredited delegate of Lithuania, the nonaggression treaty was renewed, on May 6, 1931, and on April 4, 1934, by protocols and valid until December 31, 1945.

On June 14, 1940, armed forces of the U.S.S.R., numbering three hundred thousand troops, poured into the Republic of Lithuania, causing the Lithuanian government to flee in exile. Soviet forces

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[133]Bronius J. Kaslas, *The U.S.S.R.-German Aggression Against Lithuania* (New York: Robert Speller and Sons Publishers, Inc., 1973), p. 69.

[134]Kaslas, *The U.S.S.R.-German Aggression Against Lithuania*, p. 90.

began massive round-ups of all known anti-Soviet elements and potential enemies of the Soviet Union, an act encompassing virtually the entire first generation of educated Lithuanians.

The Soviet invasion sent a shock wave through Chicago's Lithuanian-American community. Anthony Olis, a graduate of the University of Chicago Law School and an executive of the LCC, called a meeting at his home, on June 15, to discuss ways to help Lithuania. Present at the informal meeting were Leonardas Simutis, editor of *Draugas*, Pijus Grigaitis, editor of *Naujienos*, and Mykolas Vaidyla, editor of the liberal *Sandara*. The four men agreed to form a political coalition based on the principle that only secular matters related to Lithuania would appear on all future agendas. Using *Draugas*, *Naujienos*, and *Sandara*, which reached into every Lithuanian area of settlement in the United States, they agreed to coordinate activities in an effort to unite Lithuanian-Americans in aiding Lithuania.

A hastily formed political action group, led by prominent Lithuanian-American Chicagoans, asked to present President Franklin D. Roosevelt with a memorandum and statement expressing their concern over Soviet actions. After five weeks of silence by the United States government, the official stand on the Baltic States crisis came in a July 23, 1940 press release by acting Secretary of State Sumner Wells:

> During these few days the devious processes were under the political independence and territorial integrity of the three small Baltic republics . . . were to be deliberately annihilated by one of their more powerful neighbors, have been rapidly drawing to their conclusions.
>
> From the day when the peoples of these republics first gained their independent and democratic form of government, the people of the United States have watched their admirable progress in self-government with deep and sympathetic interest.[135]

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[135]Simutis, *Amerikos Lietuviu Taryba*, p. 19.

Not an official protest to the U.S.S.R., the statement ended with an appeal to reason, justice and law, verbalizing American ideals and values for modern civilization. The carefully worded press release left itself open to interpretation, since it made no mention of a foreign policy directive affecting United States-U.S.S.R. relations. Since U.S. policy was not clear, Lithuanian-Americans viewed this absence as favorable to the U.S.S.R.

Failing to secure a meeting with Roosevelt throughout the summer and early fall of 1940, the Chicago group finally reached the president via Harry Hopkins' private secretary, M. Shelis, a sympathetic Lithuanian-American. Shelis asked presidential advisor Hopkins to arrange a meeting between Roosevelt and the delegation calling itself the Lithuanian-American Council.[136] The president received the group on October 15, 1940, exactly four months after the occupation of Lithuania.

When Judge John T. Zuris, acting spokesman for the group, described Lithuania as a small country that had lost its independence, Roosevelt corrected him:

> The address mentioned that Lithuania had lost its independence. That is a mistake. The independence of Lithuania is not lost but put temporarily aside. The time will come when Lithuania will be free again. This may happen sooner than you may expect. It was a mistake on behalf of one of the speakers to say that Lithuania is a small country. In Latin America there are states even smaller than Lithuania but they live a free and happy life.
>
> Even the smallest nation has the same right to enjoy independence as the largest one.[137]

One of the original delegates, Euphrosine Mikuzis, recalled that Roosevelt's promise to do everything in his power to restore Lithuania's independence "exceeded our wildest expectation on the

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[136]Interview with Euphrosine Mikuzis, January 29, 1983.

[137]Simutis, *Amerikos Lietuviu Taryba*, p. 458.

issue."[138] As a result, Roosevelt's action provided the foundation for the United States' *de jure* recognition of a Lithuanian government in exile at a time of *de facto* occupation.

Translating Roosevelt's remarks as official policy toward the U.S.S.R.-Lithuanian conflict, the group endorsed the idea of a Supreme Council for the restoration of the Lithuanian nation to be organized in Europe. Armed with Roosevelt's *de jure* recognition of an occupied Lithuania, the original Chicago coalition, joined by other Lithuanian ethnic organizations, formed into one Lithuanian-American Council (LAC), at a meeting held on August 9-10, 1940.

American goals of right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness for the homeland motivated the formation of the American Lithuanian Council (LAC). From its beginning, the LAC was an American ethnic political action group with no symbiotic ties to Lithuania. Ties were based on sentimentality for those not as fortunate as Americans. The formation of the LAC was tangible proof of Americanization. Entry into the American social ritual (political) was possible since the hyphenated ethnics formed a cultural solidarity with Americans. Quoting Robert E. Park, Milton M. Gordon pointed out that

> In the United States an immigrant is ordinarily considered assimilated as soon as he has acquired the language and the social ritual of the native community and can participate, without encountering prejudice, in the common life, economic and political.[139]

Having acquired the language and social ritual of the American environment, the LAC took no interest in creating an institutional base to maintain the ethnic political organization beyond the generation of its members. When the original founders of the coalition died out, leadership passed into the hands of the second wave.

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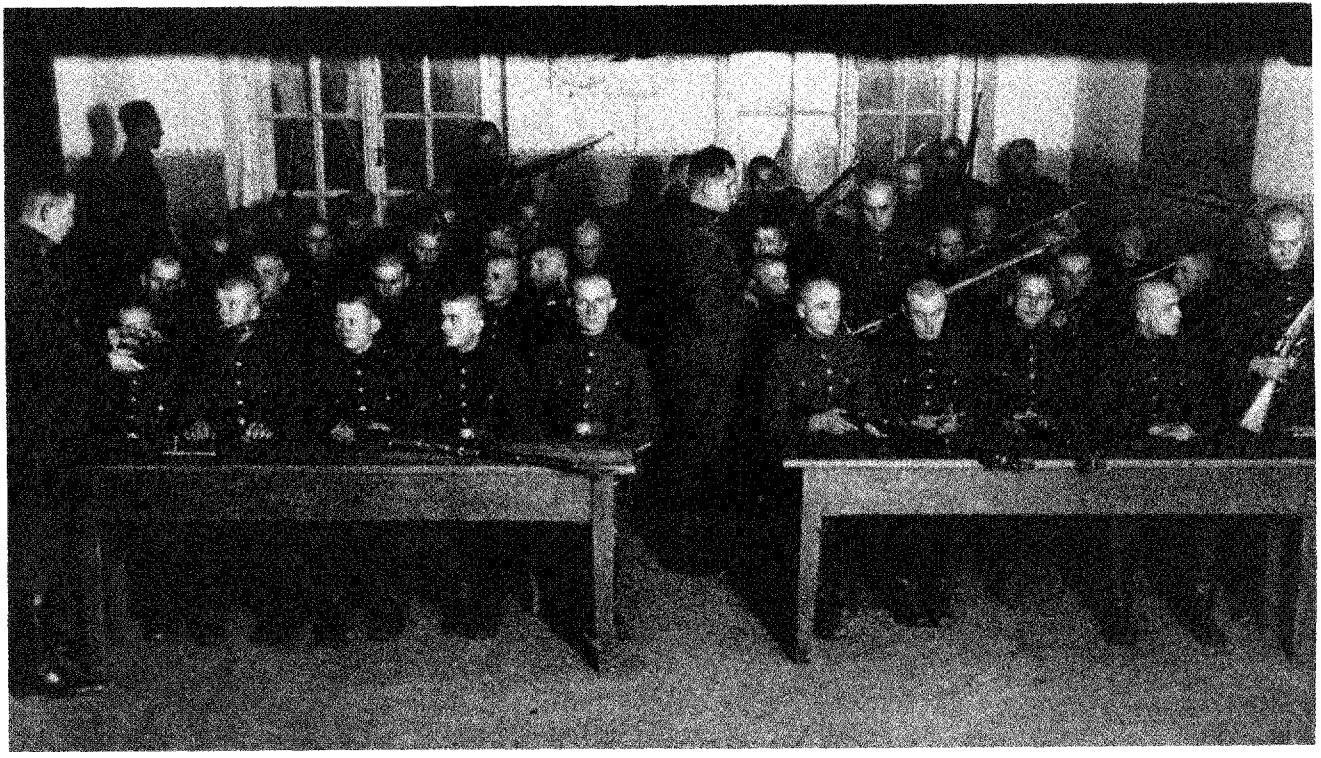
[138]Interview with Euphrosine Mikuzis, March 18, 1983.

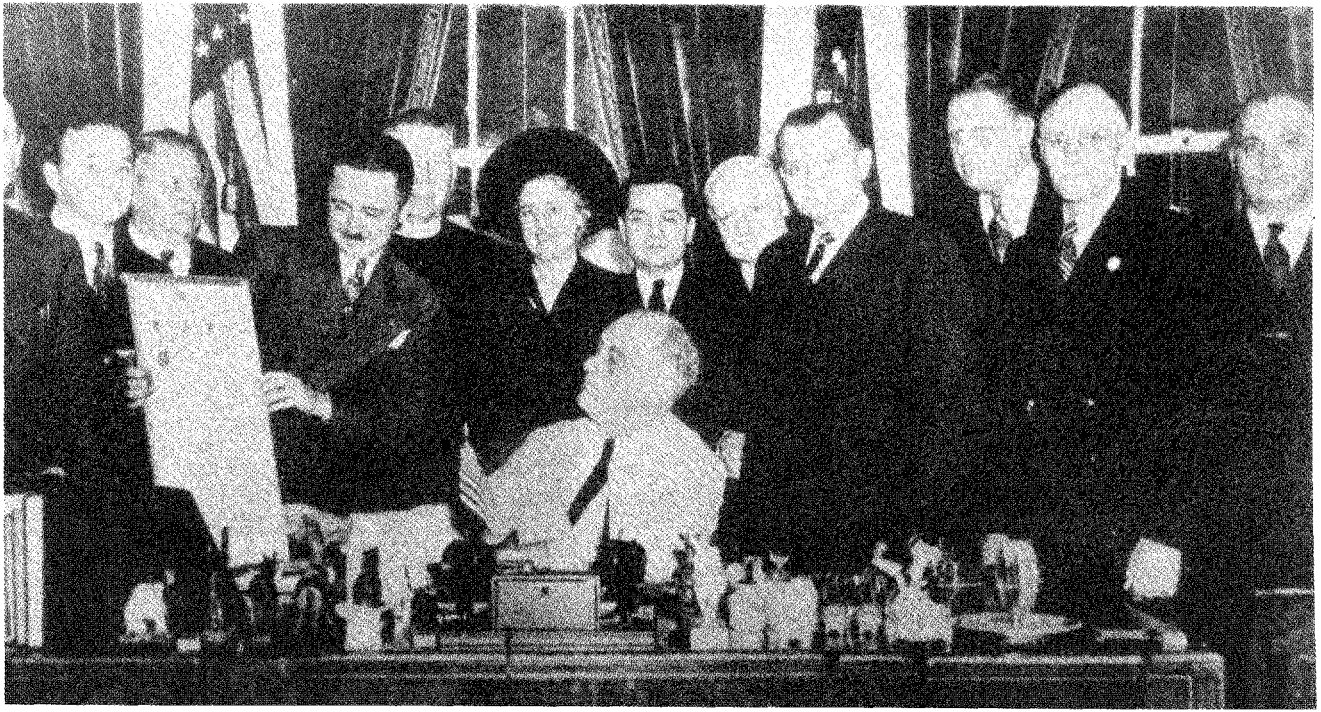
[139]Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, p. 63.

Two students from Vytautas the Great University in front of the Darius-Girenas Memorial and grave, in Kaunas, 1935. Steponas Darius, a veteran of the U.S. 42nd Rainbow Division in W.W. I, and Stasys Girenas, of the 136th U.S. Airborne Squadron, took off from New York, on July 15, 1933, on a pioneer trans-Atlantic flight to Kaunas. The plane *Lituanica* crashed near Soldin, East Prussia (photo courtesy of Elena Lizaite-Jurkenas).

Antanina Liorentaite, first Lithuanian woman pilot and skydiver, with her de Havilland "Tiger-Moth" airplane, 1936 (photo courtesy of E. Jasiunas).



Fifth Infantry Regiment members in class at Kaunas in the fall of 1937 (photo courtesy of Kazys Nastonas).



The newly organized Lithuanian-American Council meet with President Franklin D. Roosevelt, on October 15, 1940, at the White House. The meeting served as the basis for American foreign policy toward U.S. non-recognition of Soviet rule in the Baltic states (photo courtesy of the Lithuanian American Council).

Table 1. A Comparative Table of Lithuanians Who Arrived in the Major Lithuanian Centers of Immigration in the United States, 1899-1914

Year	*Illinois*	*Massachusetts*	*New York*	*Pennsylvania*	*New Jersey*
1899	99	944	1,206	2,534	335
1900	1,658	1,331	1,699	3,699	505
1901	1,252	939	1,869	3,107	408
1902	1,828	1,763	1,699	4,067	540
1903	2,318	1,591	2,418	5,096	744
1904	1,914	1,604	1,592	5,046	615
1905	3,400	2,464	2,384	6,229	865
1906	2,653	2,050	2,250	3,771	771
1907	4,558	2,906	4,176	7,322	1,396
1908	2,441	9,113	2,288	3,894	662
1909	2,918	2,612	2,433	3,420	862
1910	5,243	3,453	3,247	5,282	1,074
1911	3,753	2,585	2,407	3,852	888
1912	2,759	2,472	2,052	2,854	795
1913	5,415	3,957	3,259	5,543	1,185
1914	5,130	3,265	2,933	4,303	1,185

Source: K. V. Rackauskas, *Amerika* (Chicago: Jaunoji Lietuva Publishers, 1915), pp. 204-5.

Table 2. Number of Lithuanian Immigrants Entering the United States, 1899-1914

Year	*Number of Men*	*Number of Women*	*Total*
1899	5,291	1,567	6,858
1900	7,683	2,628	10,311
1901	6,499	2,316	8,815
1902	8,576	3,053	11,629
1903	10,721	3,711	14,432
1904	8,854	3,926	12,780
1905	13,842	4,762	18,604
1906	9,429	4,828	14,257
1907	18,716	7,168	25,884
1908	8,522	5,198	13,720
1909	10,284	4,970	15,254
1910	15,360	7,354	22,714
1911	10,473	6,554	17,027
1912	8,098	5,980	14,078
1913	16,069	8,578	24,647
1914	12,282	9,302	21,584

Source: Kunigas Antanas Milukas, *Amerikos lietuviai XIX simtmetyje, 1868-1900, Tomas 1* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Zvaigzdes Spauda, 1938), p. 17.

Table 3. Addition of Lithuanian Schools to Chicago Parishes

Church	*Year built*	*Year school built*	*Notation*
Providence	1900	1900	Lay teachers and Nazareth Sisters (1902-1914) Sisters of St. Casimir 1914 to present
Holy Cross	1904	1905	Nazareth (1902-1924) Sisters of St. Casimir 1924 to present
St. Michael	1904	1906	Lay teachers Sisters of St. Casimir 1914-
Our Lady of Vilna	1905	1908	Sisters of St. Casimir 1913-
All Saints	1906	1908	Sisters of St. Casimir 1911-
St. Anthony's (Cicero)	1911	1913	Lay teachers Nazareth Sisters Sisters of St. Casimir 1920-
Immaculate Conception	1914	1915	Nazareth Sisters 1915-1922 Sisters of St. Casimir 1922-
Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary	1927	1929	Sisters of St. Casimir 1929-

Source: Sister M. Timothy Audryaitis, "Catholic Action of the Lithuanians in the United States: A History of the American Lithuanian Roman Catholic Federation" (Unpublished thesis submitted to Loyola University at Chicago, Illinois for degree of Master of Arts, June 1958), pp. 555, 558-9, and 564.

Table 4. The Assimilation Variables

Subprocess or condition	*Type or stage of assimilation*	*Special term*
Change of cultural patterns to those of host society	Cultural or behavioral assimilation	Acculturation[1]
Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs and institutions of host society, on primary group level	Structural assimilation	None
Large-scale intermarriage	Marital assimilation	Amalgamation[2]
Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society	Identificational assimilation	None
Absence of prejudice	Attitude receptional assimilation	None
Absence of discrimination	Behavior receptional assimilation	None
Absence of value and power conflict	Civic assimilation	None

[1]The original material (Gordon's note, no. 19) reads: "The question of reciprocal cultural influence will be considered later.

[2]The original material (Gordon's note, no. 20) reads: "My use of the term here is not predicated on the diversity in race of the two population groups which are intermarrying and interbreeding. With increasing understanding of the meaning of 'race' and its thoroughly relative and arbitrary nature as a scientific term, this criterion becomes progressively less important. We may speak of the 'amalgamation' or intermixture of two 'gene pools' which the two populations represent, regardless of how similar or divergent these two gene pools may be."

Both notes from Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 71.

CHAPTER 3

A NEW WAVE OF EMIGRATION IN THE MAKING

When 300,000 Red Army troops began pouring into Lithuania on June 15, 1940, President Antanas Smetona—before fleeing to the United States—authorized Stasys Lozoraitis, head of the Lithuanian legation in Italy, to become the chief of diplomatic representatives abroad. Smetona's action led to a *de jure* diplomatic corps abroad and set the stage for the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania. In preparation of the appropriate moment to become a government in exile, Lithuanian diplomats, at a preliminary meeting held in Rome, on September 19-25, 1940, drew up guidelines for a national committee modeled after Jan Masaryk's Czech National Committee.[140] The Rome meeting received moral and political stature as a result of the Roosevelt statement to the LAC delegation. Henceforth, the official policy of the United States government treated the U.S.S.R. presence in Lithuania as an illegal military occupation. By May of 1941, the Lithuanian diplomatic corps began to function as a government in exile with a Washington office and full diplomatic status. As the official government of the Republic of Lithuania, its primary goal became eventual *de facto* control of its national territory.

VYRIAUSIAS LIETUVOS KOMITETAS-TAUTOS TARYBA (SUPREME LITHUANIAN COMMITTEE-NATIONAL COUNCIL)

The invasion of Lithuania set the wheels in motion for the formation of two resistance centers: Supreme Lithuanian Committee *(Vyriausias Lietuvos Komitetas)*, or VLK, and the diametrically opposed National Council *(Tautos Taryba)*, or TT. VLK was comprised of various factions from the resistance movement—the

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[140]Algirdas Budreikis, "Liberation Attempts from Abroad" in *Lithuania 700 Years*, ed. by Dr. Albertas Gerutis (New York: Manyland Books, Inc., 1969), p. 381.

Tautininki, Populists, Nationalists, and Social Democrats—while TT drew its members from the clerical faction—Christian Democrats, the Lithuanian Front, and the Unity Movement.

When Nazi Germany launched a surprise attack on its ally, the Soviet Union, on June 22, 1941, Lithuanian Red Army units staged a massive revolt. Aided by armed civilians, they captured the national radio station at Kaunas in the early hours of June 23, declared the restoration of an independent Lithuania by the evening of the same day, and had all major cities and towns under control.

When German army units marched into the capital of Kaunas, they were prepared to deal with the Soviet government. What they found was a provisional government under Prime Minister Kazys Skirpa, Foreign Minister Juozas Ambrozevicius, and Defence Minister Rapolas Skipitis. Furthermore, the government in power and the diplomatic corps in the United States recognized each other as the same government. Finding itself in an independent country not at war with the Third Reich, the German military units did not interfere with the functioning government until July 25, when talks between German and Lithuanian officials broke down because Skirpa and his cabinet refused to give up control of the country. After holding a memorial service at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Kaunas, the government went underground.

The Nazi occupation, after the disbanding of the provisional government, pursued a policy of repression in an attempt to colonize the country. It pressured its youth into the German *Arbeitsdienst* (Labor Service) in Germany. Organizations were banned on July 28, except for the Lithuanian Nationalist Party *(Lietuviu Nacionalistu Partija)*, which cooperated with the Germans until December of 1941, when Lithuania along with Latvia, Estonia, and Byelorussia, under the name Ostland, became the property of the Third Reich. All high schools were closed, taxes raised and universities forbidden to enroll students not cleared by German authorities. In March of 1943, the Germans closed all universities and the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, looting the War Museum and folklore archives. On March 25-26, 1943, arrests and internment in Stutthof Concentration Camp thinned the ranks of prominent Lithuanians.[141]

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[141]Albertas Gerutis, "Occupied Lithuania" in *Lithuania 700 Years*, ed. by Dr. Albertas Gerutis (New York: Manyland Books, Inc., 1969), pp. 342-3.

Underground organizations continued to disrupt attempts at direct mobilization of Lithuanian men into German military service. VLK, one such organization, felt that because Lithuania had *de jure* recognition, its armed partisans represented the Lithuanian state; the organization went on to establish a liaison with Lithuanians in the West when Algirdas Vokietaitis, a VLK agent, reached Sweden on July 20, 1943.[142] Working with Lithuanians in Stockholm, Vokietaitis developed communications between his group and Lithuanian Consul General Jonas Budrys in New York. At the same time, Swedish fishing boats carrying agents disguised as fishermen maintained communications with occupied Lithuania.

On November 25, 1943, increasing Nazi brutality in Lithuania caused the VLK and TT to unite into Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania *(Vyriausias Lietuvos Islaisvinimo Komitetas)*, or VLIK. Upon its formation, VLIK became the strongest organization working for national rights and the restoration of independence. On February 16, 1944, reiterating its principles in a declaration, VLIK stressed that Lithuania had not lost its sovereignty by reason of its occupation and would ". . . maintain close contact with Lithuanian-Americans . . . ,"[143] a reference to the LAC based in Chicago.

When the Red Army pushed the Germans out of Russia and began to approach Ostland, in February of 1944, Lithuanians agreed to form an all-volunteer Lithuanian Home Formation *(Lietuvos Vietine Rinktine)*, on the conditions that units fight only on Lithuanian territory and be led by Lithuanian officers not subject to German counter commands. When the Gestapo uncovered VLIK in April of 1944, the Nazis became suspicious of the Home Formation, demanding its mobilization for a draft into the German Army.[144] The incident led to the arrest of General Povilas Plechavicius and his staff, as well as the dispersal of his battalions. In July of 1944, the Red

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[142]Interview with Jurgis Jasinskas, former Lithuanian resistance center leader, March 15, 1981. Also: Albertas Gerutis, "Occupied Lithuania," in *Lithuania 700 Years*, p. 344.

[143]Gerutis, *Lithuania 700 Years*, p. 347.

[144]Gerutis, *Lithuania 700 Years*, p. 352.

Army crossed into Lithuania, meeting resistance from 6,600 armed men, who had evaded German capture by reorganizing themselves into guerrilla units.

The discovery, by Gestapo, of VLIK cost the organization eight key members. Recognizing the inevitable Soviet occupation of their country, VLIK evacuated westward. Their failure to leave an organized leadership resulted in a fragmented resistance to advancing Soviet forces.[145] The Soviet reoccupation of Lithuania, in the summer of 1944, caused thousands of Lithuanians, mostly from the educated class, to withdraw westward.

REPATRIATION FEARS

Remembering the terror of the first Soviet occupation of 1940, thousands of Lithuanians fled westward during the summer of 1944, their goal to reach American and British armies advancing eastward across a disintegrating German-occupied Europe. The post-World War II era found the bulk of these refugees in the western zones of defeated Germany and Austria. The largest camp, 2,837 people, was located in Hanau, with other camps scattered throughout the American, British and French zones. In September of 1945, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA,) Central Headquarters under Director General Herbert H. Lehman, officially listed 47,269 Lithuanians in displaced persons camps. The figure rose to 57,154 in December of 1946.[146] Lithuanian emigré records officially listed 57,495 admitted to UNRRA camps.[147] In addition, the Lithuanian Red Cross listed 3,657 Lithuanian refugees in Western Germany who did not live in camps.[148] An estimate compiled by Eugene Kulischer put the non-returned Lithuanians at

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[145]Gerutis, *Lithuania 700 Years*, p. 348.

[146]Malcolm J. Proudfoot, *European Refugees 1939-1952: A Study in Forced Population Movement* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1956), p. 291.

[147]"DP" in *Lietuviu Enciklopedija*, Vol. V, p. 148.

[148]*Draugas* (13 August 1946), p. 4.

65,000.[149] The rise in the figures can be explained by a Northwestern University study on forced population movements, which pointed out that of the 50,000 people who legally emigrated as repatriated ethnic Germans from Lithuania, ". . . estimates vary from 15,000 to 35,000 for the number who were in fact Lithuanians and not ethnic Germans.[150] Malcolm J. Proudfoot's estimations were borne out by a former official in the Kaunas office of the German-Soviet repatriation era who recalled that it was a common practice for German government officials to falsify documents in order to establish a German ethnic background for any healthy professional or skilled worker the Third Reich needed.[151]

Fears of repatriation were not unfounded among Baltic peoples, White Russians, Ukrainians and others whose ethnic territory had become a part of the Soviet Union. A secret agreement at the Allied Teheran Conference of 1943 laid the foundation for the Yalta Conference of 1945. On the afternoon of December 1, 1943, presidential interpreter Charles E. Bohlen recorded Point 2 of a secret Roosevelt-Stalin agreement in which ". . . the President also disclaims interest in the political integrity of Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia in favour of the Soviet Union."[152] The February 11, 1945, Soviet-American Repatriation Agreement signed at the Yalta Conference gave grounds for the Soviet Union to legally press the point that refugees should not be free to decide whether to return home or not.

Lithuanian refugees could not shun Soviet officers since Point 2 of the secret agreement stated that "Repatriation representatives will

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[149]Mark R. Elliott, *Pawns of Yalta: Soviet Refugees and America's Role in their Repatriation* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1982), p. 174.

[150]Proudfoot, *European Refugees*, p. 39.

[151]The former official from the Kaunas office requested to stay anonymous. In the course of this work, however, I found this particular fact to be common knowledge among Lithuanian refugees.

[152]Bohlen Collection, "Bohlen Minutes Number 2. Roosevelt-Stalin Meeting, December 1, 1943, 3:20 p.m., Roosevelt Quarters, Soviet Embassy." On file in F.D.R. Library on Roosevelt Estate in Hyde Park, New York.

have the right of immediate access into the camps and points of concentration where their citizens are located."[153] In answer to these fears, Article I of a VLIK memorandum to General Dwight D. Eisenhower, dated April 26, 1945, argued the legal basis for denial of Soviet citizenship by refugee Lithuanians:

> . . . the independent state of Lithuania exists to this day *de jure*, as was also authoritatively affirmed by the late President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt. . . . No Lithuanian considers himself a citizen of the Soviet Union, nor will he agree to avail himself of the rights of a citizen of the Soviet Union, nor to take upon himself the duties devolving from such citizenship.[154]

Article IV of the same memorandum confronted the issue of repatriation in the following manner:

> . . . the problem of the displaced Lithuanians can in no way be settled by the methods used for the nationals of other . . . nations. Namely, by returning them to their own countries . . . All the Lithuanians who have fled . . . have been sentenced in their absence, . . . about 1,460 . . . intellectuals . . . have been sentenced to death, . . . others to not less than two years of exile in Siberia. It therefore follows that [their] . . . return . . . would not only be contrary to international law, but also mean certain death. . . .[155]

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[153]Elliott, *Pawns of Yalta*, p. 40.

[154]Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania, Article I, "Memorandum to the Supreme Command of the Allied Expedition Forces Regarding the Displaced Lithuanians in Germany," Bulletin #80 (Würzburg, April 26, 1945), on file at the World Lithuanian Archives in Chicago.

[155]VLIK Memorandum, Article IV.

The Yalta Accords required UNRRA to promote repatriation since ". . . UNRRA was not to engage in resettlement activity as this clearly would interfere with the repatriation of the displaced persons concerned."[156] Therefore, UNRRA officially viewed those against repatriation as ". . . not the product of democratic processes but . . . rather the remnants of pre-war regimes that reflect Nazi and fascist concepts."[157] The conflict created unrest between the Lithuanian displaced persons, who considered VLIK their governing authority, and UNRRA, since that organization was assigned to supervise repatriation, utilizing Allied military personnel and vehicles, as well as 159 Soviet officers to identify nationals.[158]

Word of refugees being intimidated to return to Lithuania prompted the Chicago-based LAC to form a special Displaced Persons Commission in an effort to aid them. United States investigators on the scene substantiated the claims made in the LAC memorandum, "The Situation of Displaced Lithuanians in American Occupied Germany," in January of 1945, which contained information on cases of Soviet harassment and terror tactics, including threats against relatives in the homeland.[159]

An incident at the Kempten displaced persons camp made the fear of forced repatriation a reality. Chicago resident Marija Stasaitis recalled the "Black Sunday" of August 12, 1945:

> We were in our church when we heard horrible screams coming from the Ukrainian side of the camp. All ran out toward the screaming. A most horrible sight came before our eyes. Armed American soldiers were breaking into the Ukrainian chapel full of men, women and children. Bloodied Ukrainians were being dragged from the chapel. . . . Rifle butts

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[156]Proudfoot, *European Refugees*, p. 293.

[157]David Martin, "Not Displaced Persons—But Refugees," *Ukrainian Quarterly*, 4 (Spring 1948), 112-14.

[158]Proudfoot, *European Refugees*, p. 178.

[159]Memorandum in *Lithuanian Bulletin III*, No. 5 (October-November 1945). Also *Draugas* (13 November 1945).

> were used as clubs to beat on the hands of Ukrainians who had formed chains to protect their children. One Ukrainian man managed to throw two children over a fence into our midst. . . . He was shot by an American soldier just after he threw his wife over. A teen-age boy was also shot to death before our eyes and two other Ukrainians committed suicide. The entire *lager* (camp) was herded onto trucks. Before leaving, the Americans also took the two children and woman who had tried to hide among us.[160]

Kazimieras Pabedinskas, chairman of the Lithuanians at the displaced persons camp at Kempten at the time, witnessed the same scene:

> In my section of the *lager*, a wounded Ukrainian young man managed to crawl into our midst. Americans caught up with him and dragged his bloody body into one of the waiting trucks.[161]

According to Pabedinskas, Kempten's White Russian leader—Major General Vyacheslav Naumenko, Ataman of the Kuban Cossacks—showed solidarity with the non-Cossack Soviets living in fear of forced repatriation. He attempted to disrupt joint American-Soviet repatriation operations by refusing to identify those who could not disclaim Soviet citizenship. Pabedinskas, totally confused by the scene of one group of Americans beating and shooting while another group filmed the entire scene, suffered a heart attack. After recovering and resuming his duties, he asked Kempten Camp Commander, Captain C. W. LeGrand, Director of UNRRA Team 76, how such an act could have been permitted. LeGrand stated that the matter was beyond the scope of his authority in UNRRA.

Writing in the *Wall Street Journal* in Fall of 1983, Professor R. R. Davison of Texas A & M University remembered how he, as a

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[160]Interview with Marija Stasaitis, January 29, 1983.

[161]Interview with Kazimieras Pabedinskas, January 17, 1983.

rifleman in Company G, 318th Infantry Division stationed at Kempten and his company

> . . . marched down to the church and the people were inside. . . . A wild battle ensued, including the Orthodox priest wielding his Cross, but rifle butts won and soon the battered people were driven from the church. . . . A shot rang out from the courtyard and a boy in the group crumpled to the ground. . . . A little woman with tears running down her face and my rifle pointing at her head said in broken English "I thought Americans were good". . . .[162]

The orders were "to load them on trucks for deportation even if we had to kill them." When his "C.O. added that Stalin had promised that they wouldn't be harmed," Davison recalled "a low laugh" rippling "through the formation," since "we knew, even in 1945, that Stalin would probably kill these people."[163] Kempten DP Journalist Jonas Vasaitis witnessed

> . . . the August scene of horror from an upper floor directly facing the Orthodox Chapel. American soldiers hacked with rifle butts at women's arms linked in a human chain to protect their children. Five men were shot dead before my eyes. . . . The thought of "We are next" was in all our minds.[164]

Information on the Kempten affair reached Antanas Kalvaitis, a former De Paul University law student and Consul General of the Republic of Lithuania in Chicago, from 1928 to 1936, who monitored UNRRA forced repatriation and passed on data to the LAC in Chicago. Using his position and fluency in English, he pressed the

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[162]R. R. Davison, "I Thought Americans Were Good,"*Wall Street Journal* (September 23, 1983), 33.

[163]Davison, "I Thought Americans Were Good," 33.

[164]Interview with Jonas Vasaitis, February 18, 1983.

point that Lithuanians were not Soviet citizens to every American he met, including General Dwight D. Eisenhower and General George S. Patton. As Chairman of the Lithuanian Central Displaced Persons Committee, based in Munich, Kalvaitis helped set up secret committees in Lithuanian camps for the purpose of physically resisting deportation to Soviet Lithuania. He recalled that

> The Soviet Union wanted to take us all back one way or another. NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] agents visited our camps with UNRRA's cooperation. To boost morale among our people, members of the secret defense forces would slash tires on the NKVD jeeps and trucks while the delegations were busy giving talks to our people.[165]

Chicagoan Juozas Zemaitis remembered an occasion, in 1945, when

> . . . UNRRA gathered 1,500 Lithuanians to listen to an address by four Russian NKVD men and one Lithuanian Red Army Major. The Lithuanian speaker told us to return to our paradise [Soviet Lithuania] and that all anti-Soviet activists will be pardoned. The American UNRRA officials allowed me to take the stage after the speaker. My speech was short. I looked at the Lithuanian Red Army officer and said, "You who use the Lithuanian language, how could you renounce your soul to the Russian?" At this point, the entire crowd surged forward to tear the NKVD men to pieces with their bare hands. Their uniforms were torn to shreds and a bloody NKVD team was barely saved by American MPs.[166]

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[165]Interview with Antanas Kalvaitis, Chairman of the Lithuanian Central Committee, 1945-1948, Munich Area 7 HQ, U.S. Zone, January 21, 1983.

[166]Interview with Juozas Zemaitis, January 26, 1983.

Baltic refugees summed up their views on forced repatriation when they ". . . concluded: 'We have been persecuted one year by the Soviet[s], three years by the Germans and two years by UNRRA'."[167]

American officers on the scene in Europe appeared to question the repatriation policy article on the Yalta Accords. In March 1945, Admiral Ellery W. Stone, Chief of the Civil Affairs Division in Italy, attempted to change repatriation policy by requesting that "the sole test . . . be whether a person claims Russian citizenship and that if he or she does not do so, he or she be treated as stateless."[168] The State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee and the Joint Chiefs of Staff rejected Admiral Stone's suggestion. By August 25, General Alexander Patch, Commander of the United States Seventh Army, suspended using force after asking SHAEF (Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force) for a clarification on ". . .use of troops to turn over unwilling repatriates to the Soviet authorities."[169] On August 27, State Department Advisor Robert Murphy, attaché to SACMED (Supreme Allied Commander Mediterranean Theatre), said that

> In applying the policy of forcible repatriation there had been a number of unpleasant incidents involving violence such as the forcible seizure by our troops of one hundred Russians at a church service resulting in serious injury on both sides.[170]

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[167]Mark R. Elliott, *Pawns of Yalta*, footnote 98 reads "UNRRA's Chief of Displaced Persons Operations Urges Repatriation," Annex No. 2, May 4, 1947, folder 9, Panchik Papers, p. 157; "Nobody Cares About DPs Anymore," *Washington Daily News* (14 May 1947), folder 37 Panchik Papers; Elliot's confidential interview with former State Department Official, 29 July 1977.

[168]Elliott, *Pawns of Yalta*, p. 107.

[169]Elliott, *Pawns of Yalta*, p. 107. See also Nicholas Bethell, *The Last Secret: The Delivery to Stalin of Over Two Million Russians by Britian and the United States* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1974), p. 174.

[170]Elliot, *Pawns of Yalta*, p. 107.

Murphy told Secretary of State James F. Byrnes about his personal revulsion of the Kempten atrocities.

American military and civilian authorities questioned indiscriminate repatriation throughout late summer of 1945, including Eisenhower who, on September 4, requested the State Department to reexamine repatriation guidelines. On September 25, British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin argued against the forced repatriation clause in the Yalta Accords by stressing that the West was a traditional haven for persecuted political exiles,[171] while Brigadier General C. L. Adcock feared "public opinion in the United States if . . . troops were killed or injured in attempting to force repatriation of unwilling Soviet citizens."[172] After Seventh Army Headquarters referred the clarification to Washington, American press circles became interested and, on September 9, *The New York Herald Tribune* reported that high-ranking Allied military officers were intent on breaking the Yalta agreement. History professor William Samolin of the University of Hartford, a former U.S. Army major, pointed out that many officers had in the back of their minds the talk of impending war crime trials at Nürnberg against Germans who had claimed they were innocent of atrocities since they only obeyed orders from higher authorities. Samolin recalled that visions of United States troops shooting and bayonetting helpless refugees—orders emanating from up the chain of command—caused many to issue vague orders on forced repatriation operations.[173]

In spite of concerns raised by prominent military and government officials, repatriation and its attendant atrocities continued. For example, the detention camp at Plattling, Germany, became a reenactment of similar scenes that had occurred earlier in places like Dachau, Kempten and Fort Dix, New Jersey. United States Army translator William Sloane Coffin, Jr. bore witness to his role in forced repatriation, in February of 1946.

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[171]Elliot, *Pawns of Yalta*, p. 109.

[172]Elliot, *Pawns of Yalta*, p. 108.

[173]Interview with William Samolin, former U.S. Army Major, professor of history at the University of Hartford, January 27, 1983.

> Despite the fact that there were three GI's to every returning Russian, I saw several men commit suicide. Two rammed their heads through windows, sawing their necks on the broken glass until they cut their jugular veins. Another took his leather bootstrings, tied a loop to the top of his triple-decker bunk, put his head through the noose and did a back flip over the edge which broke his neck.[174]

During the incident, one suicidal Russian was forced to reveal his self-inflicted wounds while an Army signalman camearman filmed him. Historian Elliot located and identified the film as Army Signal Corps Film No. 5824, Record Group 111, stored in the National Archives.

Not until Fiorello LaGuardia succeeded Herbert H. Lehman as Director General of UNRRA did the situation of the refugees change. Using his office to undermine the standing policy of repatriation, he ushered in a new dialogue. In a letter dated May 26, 1946, La Guardia asked forty-eight nations on the UNRRA council for concrete proposals on the issue of displaced persons who refused repatriation and for information on prospects of permanent resettlement.[175]

La Guardia's new dialogue paved the way for organizations like the LAC to participate in resolving the future of refugees. By October of 1946, the LAC demanded that President Harry S. Truman, the State Department and the American delegation in the United Nations reexamine repatriation policy. Citing FDR's 1940 declaration, the council argued that the United States had never recognized the Soviet annexation of Lithuania and, therefore, Lithuanian refugees were not legally citizens of the Soviet Union. In opposing the Draft

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[174]Elliot, *Pawns of Yalta*, pp. 1-2. At the time, William Sloane Coffin, Jr. (1924-), as chief U.S. Army interpreter at Plattling, had the responsibility to sort out DPs subject to forced repatriation. He went on to serve with the Central Intelligence Agency from 1950 to 1953, and then became an ordained minister in the Presbyterian church, acting minister at Phillips Academy (1956-1957), chaplain at Williams College (1957-1958), and thereafter chaplain at Yale University. Coffin attributed his interest in the peace movement to bearing witness of repatriation atrocities in the DP camp era.

[175]Proudfoot, *European Refugees*, p. 293.

Constitution of the International Refugee Organization, Anthony Olis formulated the argument that the U.S.S.R. did not consult Baltic nationals or the legal diplomatic representatives of their countries.[176] He presented the Lithuanian case, on June 30, 1946, to the intergovernmental Commission on refugees and the United Nations Economic and Social Council in Washington, D.C.

DISPLACED PERSONS ORGANIZATIONS AND EDUCATION

Despite finding themselves far from their homeland, various organizations—teachers, agronomists, economists, engineers, doctors, and others—formed to keep their members up-to-date in their professions. Just as the adults at the turn of the century saw the future of Lithuania through the education of their young, so the refugee community, consisting of the first-generation educated class, saw education as the vehicle for nurturing a national consciousness. Vaclovas Ciziunas, a 1942 history graduate of the University of Vilnius, voiced the importance that exiles placed on education:

> The mainstay of a nation's sovereignty is its ability to maintain a viable system of national education, which would preserve and transmit the nation's cultural heritage. . . . [since] . . . cultural sensitivity and national consciousness . . . is of extreme importance to the maintenance of national identity.[177]

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[176]Sister M. Timothy Audryaitis, "Catholic Action of the Lithuanians in the United States of America: A History of the American Lithuanian Roman Catholic Federation," (Unpublished thesis submitted to Loyola University at Chicago, for degree of Master of Arts, June 1958), p. 318.

[177]Vaclovas Ciziunas, "Lietuviu svietimo tremtyje: zvilgsnis porai desimtmeciu sukakus." *Lietuviu Tautos Praeitis*, 3 (1971) , p. 163.

The important relationship between education and national consciousness prompted first generation culture bearers to take on the challenge to establish an educational system. They started operating shortly after the collapse of the Third Reich, even though "Travel and communication between various DP camp(s) (fig. 2) was very difficult. . . . throughout three . . . occupation zones. . . ." and relations with UNRRA and IRO (International Refugee Organization) ranged from indifference to extremely cooperative, since some ". . . were not receptive to the idea of independent cultural education and autonomous cultural activity."[178] The fact that, in 1944, the refugee Lithuanian community had approximately 12,000 youth—2,500 kindergarten age, 4,150 elementary school age, 3,260 gymnasium (high school) youth, 2,000 college students and 500 trade and specialized vocation students[179]—also contributed to making education of primary importance.

In the summer of 1945, Hanau DP camp opened in former German Army barracks, attracting between 3,000 to 4,000 Balts of which about 1,500 were Lithuanians.[180] Since Hanau had the largest single concentration of Lithuanians in one place, it was natural for the first DP school to organize there on July 20 of that same year. The school began operating classes on July 30 with 149 students enrolled in kindergarten through elementary school and a high school in full operation by July 9.[181] The curriculum consisted of the following courses: religion, Lithuanian language and literature, English, German, Latin, mathematics, physics, general science, chemistry, geography, world history, introduction to philosophy, music, art,

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[178]Ciziunas, "Lietuviu svietimo tremtyje," *Lietuviu Tautos Praeitis*, p. 163.

[179]Vytautas Alseika, "DP" in *Lietuviu Enciklopedija*, V. 5 (South Boston, Massachusetts: Lietuviu Enciklopedija Leidykla, 1955), p. 153.

[180]Vincentas Liulevicius, editor, *Lietuviu svietimas Vokietijoje: 1944-1950 metai.* (Chicago: M. Morkunas Press, 1969), p. 38.

[181]Jonas Svoba, "Hanau lietuviu gimnazija," *Tautos Praeitis* (1962), p. 622.

home economics, and physical education.[182] The Hanau Lithuanians had help in procuring supplies for their school in the form of one Mrs. Heath, wife of the local UNRRA director.[183] Sympathetic to their efforts in operating a school system, she used her influence in securing building materials and supplies from UNRRA. Parents, in turn, used the supplies to build chairs and tables as well as nail shut glassless windows until enough cellophane could be rounded up. UNRRA went so far as to obligate the town of Hanau to pay teachers between 200 and 360 RM (Reich Marks) per month.[184]

Alicija Rugyte, a humanities teacher of that era, recalled the organization of a DP school in a forest near Regensburg with 120 children. According to Ms. Rugyte, it was only in the fall of 1946 that the school received quarters. She recalled that Bishop Vincentas Brizgys, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kaunas then living among the DPs, went to a local Franciscan-operated high school for German students and asked them to consider favorably a request for sharing their quarters. Eager to honor the request of a bishop, the German Franciscans agreed to the plan of Ignas Malinauskas-Malenas, DP school director of education, to use the school on a staggered time basis—with Germans in the first half of the day and Lithuanians the second half.[185] The Lithuanians used German books in subject areas where material did not exist. Regensburg followed a similar program to that of the Hanau school. Besides the conventional DP school, Regensburg also saw the founding and organization of Montessori education by Lithuanian artist Adomas Varnas, which later reorganized itself in Chicago.[186]

In contrast to the Hanau and Regensburg situations, Lithuanians in Ansbach had a more difficult time in establishing an educational system. In addition to the 240 Lithuanians who had been factory workers in the local German war industry, the Nürnberg camp

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[182]Svoba, "Hanau lietuviu gimnazija," p. 622.

[183]Svoba, "Hanau lietuviu gimnazija," p. 623.

[184]Svoba, "Hanau lietuviu gimnazija," p. 623.

[185]Interview with Alicija Rugyte, August 26, 1984.

[186]Liulevicius, *Lietuviu svietimas Vokietijoje*, p. 179.

also consisted of 530 refugees who had fled the formerly American - held territory of Thüringen handed over to the Red Army on June 29, 1945. Thus, Nürnberg had a sizable Lithuanian colony living under exceptionally hard conditions since the local army barracks were in ruins with roofless and windowless buildings.[187] The refugees were concentrated in ruined garages open to rain and cold. Barbed wire and U.S. Army sentries forbade anyone to leave or enter the camp area without the commandant's permission. In spite of the harsh and depressing conditions, teachers held meetings to discuss ways to overcome their situation and to set up an educational system. By trading cigarettes for school supplies and furniture with local Germans and with Poles being repatriated, the camp opened a school on a limited basis on July 22, 1945.[188] When UNRRA finally moved the Nürnberg camp inhabitants to the Hindenburg Army Barracks of Ansbach, on October 9, 1945, the school relocated to four heated rooms in the cellar of Barrack Block A, where the classrooms were utilized in two shifts—lower grades in the morning and upper grades in the afternoon.[189] In late November of 1945, the school received nine rooms from UNRAA. At the same time, the Ansbach Lithuanians elected their first local committee for education and culture.

According to Vincentas Liulevicius, former DP Board of Education school inspector in the American Zone, from its inception in 1946 until he emigrated to Chicago in the fall of 1949, the schools arose spontaneously. Soon after, however, the refugees saw a need for more unification. In looking for help to accomplish this, Liulevicius and Stasys Barzdukas (a leader in the Roman Catholic youth organization Futurists—*Ateitis*) went to Würzburg to see Professor Jonas Vilkaitis, director of the education section of the self-help organization, *Lietuviu Sajunga* (Lithuanian Association), for

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[187]Pranas Pauliukonis, "Ansbacho Lietuviu Progimnazija: 1945-1947 m," *Tautos Praeitis* (1959), p. 82.

[188]J. Laukaitis, "Nuernbergo-Ansbacho pradzios mokykla," in *Lietuviu Svietimas Vokietijoje*, ed. by Vincentas Liulevicius (Chicago: M. Morkunas Press, 1969), pp. 165-6.

[189]Laukaitis, "Nuernbergo-Ansbacho Lietuviu Progimnazija, in *Lietuviu Svietimas Vokietijoje*, p. 168.

Lithuanians who worked in Germany during World War II. They wanted to find out how education was set up for youth living in Germany. Vilkaitis couldn't help them, however, because the organization's education section existed largely on paper.[190] Liulevicius and Barzdukas passed on the information to VLIK, which then asked Professor Mykolas Zidonis, former inspector of schools in Lithuania, to create a central administration that would promote communication between the widely dispersed DP schools.

Under his direction, Zidonis, created the *Svietimo Valdyba*, (Council of Education), on October 4, 1946, with a budget drawn from the Lithuanian refugee community. He selected his own general staff, consisting of inspectors assigned to work directly with local school officials and their teaching staff on all phases of operation. In addition, he created the position of chief coordinator for Professor Ignas Malinauskas-Malenas, who not only represented teacher concerns on the board but also had the responsibility to coordinate school inspectors and to worry about day-to-day operations in the American zone.[191] Working under Malinauskas-Malenas, Liulevicius administered examinations, gauged the conditions and caliber of the teaching staff and schools, as well as advised on curriculum. In order to insure maximum use of Lithuanian books, he informed schools of their availability on a systematic rotational basis. The holdings of the board included the library collection of the Kybartai Gymnasium, a small town on the East Prussian border. Of the original collection, 250 books survived and were later housed in the convent archives of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, in Putnam, Connecticut.[192]

While UNRRA provided food and, in some places, obligated the local German municipality to pay salaries to Lithuanian DP school staff, the financial operation of the Council of Education was largely dependent on the *Lietuviu Tremtiniu Bendruomene* (LTB—Lithuanian Exile Community), organized in Hanau in 1946. Povilas Gaucys, president of the LTB from 1947 to 1949 in Germany and from 1949 to 1952 in Chicago, explained the connection in the following way:

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[190]Interview with Vincentas Liulevicius, October 1, 1984.

[191]Liulevicius interview, October 1, 1984.

[192]Liulevicius interview, October 1, 1984.

> Each DP camp had a committee that was responsible to the LTB Central Committee. The camp committees controlled the life of the Lithuanian exiles in all areas, ranging from classification of job assignments to deciding who may or may not receive food or maintain residence in the camps. These same committees served as collection points for LTB monthly dues of ten Reich Marks from every adult able-bodied Lithuanian. With approximately 30,000 people contributing 10 RM each, the LTB coffers received about 300,000 RM every month. The collected monies were sent directly to the LTB Central Committee, which then disbursed the funds through the Council of Education.[193]

Gaucys noted that, besides a stable income, the Central Committee received many thousands of American dollars secretly from the United Lithuanian Relief Fund of America *(Benrasis Amerikos Lietuviu Salpos Fondas)*, or BALF, director, Rev. Dr. Joseph Koncius. Not only Koncius, but also every BALF official who came to the camps, brought $500 to $1,000 secretly even though DPs were forbidden to receive or hold American dollars. Because barracks and offices of the LTB were frequently subjected to unannounced searches by U.S. Army criminal inspectors and military police, the central office of the LTB in Hanau routinely taped American currency in the linings of the draperies. According to Gaucys, the LTB traded the American currency on the German black market at a rate of about one U.S. dollar to 100 RM. They then funnelled thousands of RM into education.

Statistics on the kinds of schools/numbers of teachers and students from 1945 to 1949 (app. 1) indicated a young exile community. The charts show that, prior to heavy emigration, DP gymnasia graduates numbered 909:[194]

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[193]Interview with Povilas Gaucys, October 2, 1984.

[194]Vincentas Liulevicius, unpublished document of statistics on Lithuanian displaced persons schools from 1945 to 1949.

1945-1946	305
1946-1947	292
1947-1948	153
1948-1949	159

The decline of students, due to accelerating emigration, forced consolidation of schools.

Besides education in the camps, Lithuanians maintained the Baltic University with Latvian and Estonian DPs at Hamburg-Pinneberg. There were 440 Lithuanian students at Hamburg-Pinneberg in 1946, and only 100 by 1948. Another 324 attended UNRRA University at Munich in 1947, and 292 at Tübingen University in the same year. Freiburg University had 168 Lithuanians in 1948, while in 1947 Frankfurt had 161, Karlsruhe Higher Technical School had 131 and Stuttgart had 123.[195] Others were scattered in Munich, Göttingen, Hamburg and Bonn universities. A total of 1,678 Lithuanian students were enrolled in German universities in the spring of 1948, with 85 percent in the 18 to 30 age range and 11 percent in the 30 to 40 age group. Males outnumbered females, with 72.5 percent (1,216) male students and 27.5 percent (462) female students.[196] The following breakdown of students preparing for professions was completed shortly before the start of emigration:[197]

Medicine	362	Odontology	85
Humanities	328	Art	82
Economics	104	Mechanics	79
Engineering	101	Agriculture	60
Chemistry	96	Architecture	60
Law	86	Other fields too few for records	

Lithuanian DPs also formed a merchant marine school at Flensburg, nursing schools at Schwäbische-Gmünde and Dillingen, Commerce

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[195]Alseika, "DP," in *Lietuviu Enciklopedija* 5:154-5.

[196]Alseika, "DP," 154-5.

[197]Alseika, "DP," 155.

schools at Regensburg and Celle, as well as music courses, art studios and a host of non-technical schools in the fine arts, all reflecting the interests of the community.[198]

Linguistic and cultural seeding of Lithuanian youth remained firmly in the hands of the exiles at a time when national sovereignty was usurped by a foreign power. Since the nation had a sacred mission to preserve the language and culture, by transmitting them to generations fated to live out their lives far from the spiritual homeland, diaspora-minded Lithuanians created a network of schools in the DP camp era that isolated youth from non-Lithuanians. Operating a school system in which approximately 12,000 students took part over a six-year period not only influenced exiled Lithuanians in their inter-group relations with non-Lithuanians of that era but also shaped the values of those who emigrated to America.

Statistics bear out the fact that the adult DP population was overwhelmingly young and, by virtue of youth and energy, committed to the idea that

> This emigration from displacement did not release them from their responsibilities to provide the young with cultural sensitivity and to develop within the young national awareness, national consciousness.[199]

By sensitizing the young in DP schools, a succeeding generation was to share in the same language and culture. The stress on posterity essentially centered around a communal spirit in which the community was not composed of individual persons but was seen as a corporate body composed of the living, the dead, and those yet to be born. Therefore, Lithuanianism addressed itself to an invisible and transcendent community, binding the generations in a "partnership" in which the dead and yet to be born were part of the living community. This context of self-worship and ancestor worship was intertwined with "responsibilities to provide the young with cultural sensitivity" and to develop a "national consciousness" for the youth and their

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[198]Alseika, "DP," 154.

[199]Ciziunas "Lietuviu svietimas tremtyje," 164.

succeeding generations. Consequently, the DP camp years transformed exile into mission.

LAC ACTIVITY TO AID DISPLACED PERSONS: THE CREATION OF THE UNITED LITHUANIAN RELIEF FUND OF AMERICA

With the implications of World War II, concern among Lithuanian-Americans shifted from supporting an independent Lithuania to saving refugees. In an effort to aid Lithuanian refugees in Europe, the LAC began discussions to organize a relief organization in late 1943. By January 18, 1944, representatives of the proposed organization sought permission to register it with the War Relief Central Board, chaired by Joseph Davis, who presented opposition in the form of a suggestion that the group work through Soviet Russian Relief.[200] By March 6, 1944, Rev. Dr. Joseph Koncius informed the LAC that the board planned to register the projected organization. Consequently, the LAC met with twenty-two representatives from various Lithuanian-American charitable organizations, on March 24-25, 1944, in Chicago. The meeting culminated in the founding BALF. With headquarters in Chicago, BALF's twenty-one member board of directors chose Koncius as its president and Anthony Olis as vice president. The organization claimed to be strictly non-political and non-sectarian, the former claim substantiated by the fact that, when a suggestion to make President-in-exile Antanas Smetona an honorary member of the projected organization created friction, Olis removed Smetona's name from the proposed agenda, thus freeing BALF from political intrigue.[201]

The organization's choice of a Roman Catholic secular priest as president turned out to be useful. A graduate of Catholic University of America, Koncius used his influence among the Roman Catholic hierarchy to overcome difficulties the new organization faced. On

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[200]Domas Jasaitis, *Balfas: Bendrojo Amerikos Lietuviu Salpos Fondo 25 metu darbo apzvalga* (Brooklyn, New York: Franciscan Fathers Press, 1970), pp. 17-18.

[201]Jasaitis, *Balfas*, p. 15.

April 13, 1944, the president's War Relief Central board registered BALF under number 578, with a recommendation for membership to the National War Fund. Over strong protests from Soviet sympathizers and the Soviet Russian Relief Fund, the National War Fund awarded membership to BALF on July 31, 1944. Instrumental in securing favorable rulings for BALF was Detroit Bishop Edward Cardinal Mooney, president of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC) and a friend of Koncius.[202] In the fall of 1944, BALF became a member of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, Inc. When the National War Fund was phased out at the end of war hostilities, BALF joined the American Overseas Aid (AOA), its successor. While serving as president of BALF, Koncius became one of the founding members and directors of CARE (Cooperative for American Remittance to Europe, Inc.), when the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, Inc. went on to organize it. Koncius also maintained ties between BALF and the War Relief Services of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, American Red Cross, Refugee Relief Trustees, American Friends Service Committee, International Red Cross, Church World Service, International Rescue and Relief Committee, International Refugee Organization (IRO), and, finally, with the Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Emigrants from Europe (ICEM).

Lithuanian refugees commonly referred to BALF as "the fighting Koncius organization." When UNRRA refused to channel aid from BALF to strictly Lithuanian refugees, Koncius traveled to the French Zone of occupied Germany in late 1945, where, meeting with DP leaders of the Lithuanian Red Cross, he devised a plan to bypass UNRRA. With the help of French General Raymond Schmittlein, Chairman of the Educational Commission in the French Zone, he shipped BALF supplies to the Lithuanian Red Cross, which then

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[202]A. Sodaitis, *Bendrojo Amerikos Lietuviu Salpos Fondo pirmieji desimts metu 1944-1954* (Brooklyn, New York: Franciscan Fathers Press, 1954), p. 11.

distributed them to all Lithuanian camps in Western Germany.[203] The arrangement lasted until UNRRA's successor, IRO, took control and recognized BALF as a member organization, at which time Koncius received substantial help. For example, from 1947 to 1952, he secured IRO warehouses, trucks, and salaries for BALF agents among Lithuanian refugees. After IRO ceased refugee aid in 1952, Koncius made one of his many trips to Germany, on behalf of the remaining Lithuanians still scattered in 125 locations, and secured an agreement with the newly independent West German government in Bonn to furnish free ground transportation for all BALF food and clothing.[204]

Besides relief, BALF and its parent organization, the LAC, actively engaged in a two-and-a-half year agitation to resettle Lithuanians on American soil. When President Harry S. Truman signed Public Law 774 (Displaced Persons Act of 1948), on June 28, 1948, allowing 205,000 refugees from Western Europe to enter the United States between July 1, 1948, and June 30, 1950, BALF entered a new phase. Since a key provision for admission into the United States stipulated that ". . . displaced persons [are] to be admitted only if they may find a job and a home without displacing anyone else," BALF organized fund drives for resettlement, securing individual sponsors and guaranteeing housing and work for each Lithuanian refugee.[205] Because the new law provided refugees only with transportation to embarkation ports, individual sponsors or organizations had to pay the fare from the embarkation port to the final destination in the United States. BALF tackled the project by setting up an Immigration and Resettlement Committee with an office staff in New York City headed by Alena Devenis, LAC activist, and Joseph Laucka, president of the Lithuanian Roman Catholic Federation of America (LRCFA). The committee prepared 34,260 documents for the

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[203]J. B. Koncius, *Atsiminimai is Balfo veiklos* (New York: Franciscan Fathers Press, 1966), p. 115. Also an interview with Kazimieras Pabedinskas, February 1, 1983, who recalled that General R. Schmittlein sympathized with Lithuanians because he had studied in Lithuania during the independence period.

[204]Audryaitis, "Catholic Action of the Lithuanians," p. 337.

[205]William S. Bernard, *American Immigration Policy—A Reappraisal* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 255.

prospective immigrants.[206] In collaboration with the National Catholic Resettlement Council (NCRC) and NCWC, BALF resettled 23,150 of the 27,804 Lithuanian displaced persons between 1948 and 1954.[207] When the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, amended by Public Law 555, extended immigration to December 31, 1951, and Public Law 203 (Refugee Relief Act of 1953), set the guidelines for a further immigration of 214,000 from August 7, 1953, to December 31, 1956, the total number of Lithuanians to resettle in the United States rose to 30,300,[208] with one of three settling in Chicago.[209]

Through the creation of BALF as a separate charitable organization of the LAC, the first wave, ironically, planned and executed the migration of the second wave to America. Though BALF claimed non-political orientation, the actual mechanics and operation proved a political victory since it acted as guardian of helpless exiles stranded in Europe. BALF leaders switched hats from charity to politics at key moments—most notably, support for a Lithuanian Red Cross in exile at a time when it was in danger of being usurped by the Soviet Russian Red Cross. The mere fact of Koncius channeling relief through the Lithuanian Red Cross was a major political victory, because it aided in preventing legitimization of Soviet claims to Lithuanians and their repatriation. The ultimate act of BALF manifested itself in resettling Lithuanian refugees on American soil.

By chartering itself as an American organization, BALF operated as an integral part of institutionalized aid agencies. Leaders within the first wave Lithuanian-American community translated their concerns into a classically American response to those in distress. Though BALF continued to exist, it, like the LAC, became an integral part of the diaspora community, largely arrived at by the default of the descendents of the first wave with whom they did not share ". . . a

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[206]Audryaitis, "Catholic Action of the Lithuanians," pp. 340-1.

[207]Audryaitis, "Catholic Action of the Lithuanians," pp. 340-1.

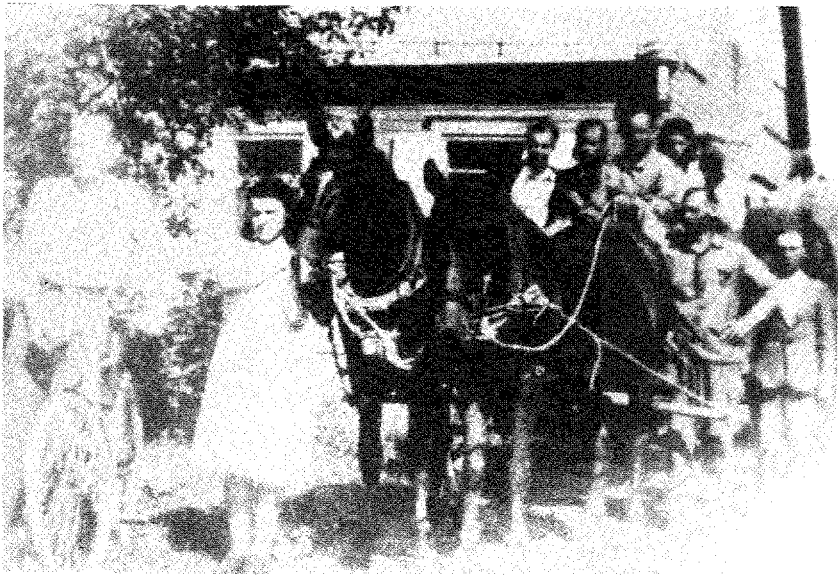
[208]Audryaitis, "Catholic Action of the Lithuanians," p. 347.

[209]Interview with Consulate General of Lithuania Josephine Dausvardis, March 14, 1983, in Chicago.

common set of attitudes and values, based upon common traditions and similar expectations."[210]

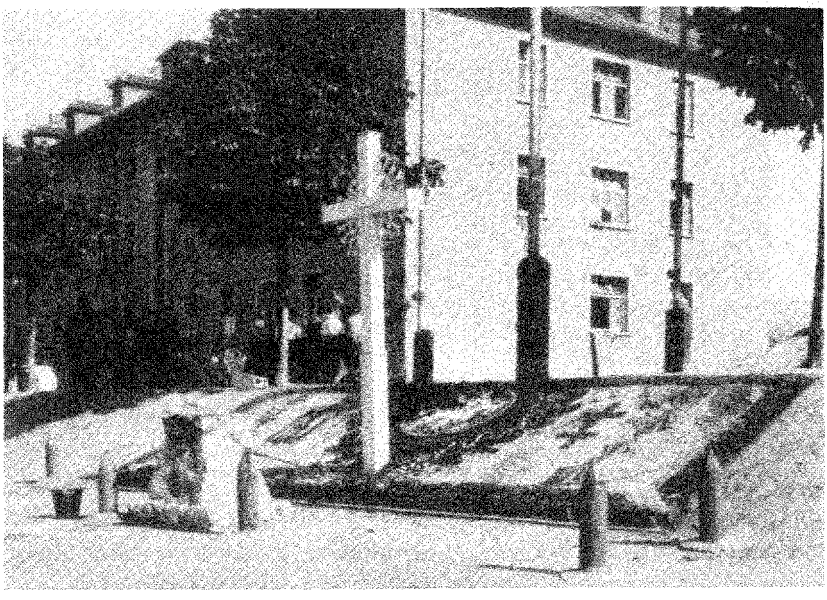
[210]Louis Wirth, "The Ghetto: A Study in Isolation," (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Chicago, September 1926), p. 317.

Figure 2. Locations of displaced persons' camps in West Germany in 1948. (Sources: Milda Danys, *DP: Lithuanian Immigration to Canada After the Second World War*, p. 47, and Lietuviu*Tautos Praeitis* [Chicago: Draugas Press, 1977], Vol. 4, Book 1 [13], p. 8).



Using horse power, Antanas Maskeliunas and family ready themselves to leave their home and farm, on August 9, 1944, as Soviet armed forces invade Lithuania (photo courtesy of the Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture).

Three Lithuanians in ethnic costumes, posing in front of an UNRRA vehicle, in Würzburg, 1947 (photo by Jonas Aksys).



Würzburg, Block 4 displaced persons' camp, 1947, depicting Lithuanian national symbols flanked by empty artillery casings (photo by Jonas Aksys).

BALF chairman, Rev. Dr. J. B. Koncius, with Lithuanians at the Oldenburg DP camp, ca. 1948 (photo courtesy of the Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture).

CHAPTER 4

EXILES NOT IMMIGRANTS

Displaced persons camp life not only saw the creation of a network of Lithuanian schools but also the nurture of the idea for a diaspora. The communal spirit, which took hold of the post-World War II era, can be largely attributed to key figures who themselves belonged to *Ateitis* (Futurists), an early twentieth century Catholic action movement whose ideology fused linguistic nationalism to Roman Catholicism. The movement produced leaders devoted to making the ideal a reality. Banned in Lithuania by the *Tautininkai* (Nationalist Party) during the last ten years of the independence period, *Ateitis* was headed by Stasys Salkauskis, Kazys Pakstas, Adolfas Damusis and Stasys Barzdukas. The group experienced a revival instigated by Damusis who, upon release from a Nazi concentration camp, reorganized it in Hanau in 1946.

Seeing themselves as exiles, *Ateitis* leaders greatly influenced the refugee community by nurturing in them a desire to maintain a national identity in exile. At the same time, the movement thrived in a climate of radiating Roman Catholic influence. Since *Ateitis* members dominated the diaspora mentality, it is important to pinpoint the origin and dynamics of the movement in order to understand its relationship to a Lithuanian identity.

LITHUANIANISM INSEPARABLE FROM CATHOLICISM

The revolutionary movement in Russia indirectly contributed to the development of a Lithuanian consciousness. By the spring of 1904, Czar Nicholas II lifted the ban on Lithuanian printing. With the decline of Czarist authority, Lithuanians experienced more freedom in forming cultural organizations. Clerics, concerned with nurturing Christianity and nationalism, however, dominated these organizations. Because of their understanding of student life and activities abroad,

both secular clerics and theology students felt the necessity for a well-organized, new movement encompassing high ideals. Realizing that educated Lithuanians with a predisposed secular ideology could not be of any use to their movement, the clerics sought out Lithuanian youth who had as yet not been influenced by the prevalent tendencies of materialism, atheism and nihilism at the time. Thus 1908 witnessed the organization of student groups through the efforts of Theological Academy of St. Petersburg student Vladas Jurgutis, himself influenced by the cleric professor of dogmatic theology Jurgis Matulaitis. Stasys Yla, chaplain of *Ateitis* until his death in March of 1983, credited Matulaitis with the idea to activate Lithuanian Roman Catholic student groups as a way to effect Christian teaching.[211]

Jurgutis invited three young clerics—Mykolas Vaitkus, Pranas Kuraitis and J. Galdikas, all students of the Theological Academy of St. Petersburg at the time—to discuss and formulate guidelines to translate Matulaitis' ideas into action.[212] Through a writing campaign to students at various Russian and Western European universities, the group proposed a Roman Catholic youth movement. The latter part of 1908 saw secondary school youth organizing themselves under the leadership of secular priests, with university students following suit. By the fall of 1909, the group moved the center of activity out of St. Petersburg to safer grounds at the University of Louvain in Belgium. Thinking it essential to find a charismatic and energetic student outside clerical ranks to champion the movement and having heard of just such a promising individual in the person of Moscow University student Pranas Dovydaitis (1866-1942), Jurgutis approached him during the summer of 1909, while Dovydaitis vacationed at his home, and succeeded in convincing him to join the movement.[213] In turn, Dovydaitis drew other students into the movement.

In November of 1909, the first organizational committee of the new movement, consisting primarily of secular clerics, presented its concerns in a letter to fellow students. The letter stated the

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[211]Stasys Yla, *Ateitininku vadovas* (Chicago: Draugas Press, 1983), p. 17.

[212]Yla, *Ateitininku vadovas*, p. 17.

[213]Yla, *Ateitininku vadovas*, p. 17.

importance of organizing the Lithuanian Catholic Student Association in order to develop a similar world-view among Lithuanian students that would work toward benefiting Lithuania through future cultural works. The committee stressed the need to come to a mutual agreement on two items: Lithuanianism and Catholicism.[214] These concerns stemmed from the fact that a large number of the students studying abroad had lost sight of their religious obligations and because a number of "foreigners and degenerates, in the name of foreign culture and politics, push a fatal denationalization."[215] In 1910, the first governing body of the student association consisted of priests at Louvain University. However, July of 1911 saw the selection of a new governing body consisting primarily of University of Moscow students since this group had become quite active by 1910. Thus, when Dovydaitis became the president of the Lithuanian Catholic Student Association *(Lietuviu Kataliku Studentu Sajunga)* the movement was virtually handed over to students, as originally conceived by the secular priests. Dovydaitis, prior to his selection as president of the association, frequently corresponded with Pranas Kuraitis, one of the original instigators of the movement who remained its spiritual guide.[216]

The movement's ideals appeared in its first pamphlet, *Ateitis (The Future)* in February of 1911. Laying the foundation for its membership—called *Ateitininkai* (The Futurists)—Dovydaitis posed and answered three fundamental questions:[217]

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[214]Yla, *Ateitininku vadovas*, pp. 19-20.

[215]Yla, *Ateitininku vadovas*, p. 20.

[216]Yla, *Ateitininku vadovas*, p. 21.

[217]Pranas Dovydaitis, "Tris pamatiniai klausimai," *Ateitis*, 1 (February 1911), 6-19. The group derived the periodical's name from similar ones published abroad—*Die Zukunft* in Germany, *L'Avenir* in France and *The Future* in England—all dedicated to the advancement of the Catholic youth movement's cause. The organizational structure for the movement was adopted at the Palanga Conference on July 15-20, 1927. The *Ateitis* Federation (Federation of the Future), whose members are referred to as Ateitininkai, consists of three Lithuanian Roman Catholic organizations: the *Ateitis* Association of Secondary School Students *(Moksleiviu Ateitininku Sajunga)*, the *Ateitis* Association of University Students

I. *Kuomi mes save vadiname ir kodel?*
(What do we call ourselves and why?)
II. *Kames matome aplink save?*
(What do we see around ourselves?)
III. *Kokios musu priedemes siekiai ir keliai prie ju?*
(What are our obligations and goals and how do we achieve them?)

Dovydaitis answered his own questions by stating that: first, *Ateitininkai* were theists, Christians, Catholics, professing God, Christ, Church; second, witnessing the tragedy of man without God, the threat of culture without spirituality, and seeing education influenced by atheism, he declared war on the surrounding atheistic culture; and third, by renewing all through Christ, *Ateitininkai* aimed to create an ideal social order by living exemplary lives grounded in the conviction that "mankind's perfection and awakening belong to Christ, as he is in the Roman Catholic Church, since to Christ alone belongs the future and only He can renew our new era's world.[218] The article also refuted the thesis that religion and modern scholarship (science) were incompatible.

Dovydaitis' initial declaration, as well as a closer study of the ideology of the *Ateitis* movement as developed by the cultural philosopher Stasys Salkauskis (1886-1941), revealed a strong influence of German Romanticism as it filtered through the early part of the nineteenth century. German Romanticism and, in particular, Friedrich Wilhelm Schelling (1775-1854) and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) had a profound impact on the young Russian intellectuals known as the "Wisdom-Lovers" (1830s) and the "Slavophiles" (1840-1861), mystical and irrational visions captivating their imaginations. Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821-1881) and Vladimir Soloviev continued in the Slavophile tradition during the second half of the century and well into the twentieth century, when Dovydaitis and Salkauskis were yet students at the University of Moscow.

(Studentu Ateitininku Sajunga) and the *Ateitis* Alumni Association *(Ateitininku Sendraugiu Sajunga)*. The *Ateitis* Federation is a member of the international Catholic student organization, *Pax Romana*.

[218]Yla, *Ateitininku vadovas*, p. 28.

In the fall of 1908, Dovydaitis entered the law faculty of Moscow University with the intention of practicing law in Lithuania since lawyers, along with physicians, were the only professional group having the right to settle and work in their home countries. A year later, drawn to philosophy and history, he joined a small secret circle of Russian students repelled by the climate of atheism at the University of Moscow. Another Lithuanian of the same time period, Salkauskis, who later became president and chief ideologue of the *Ateitis* Federation, recalled that

> The majority of the Russian students at the time, together with a significant part of the professors, had signed up for Positivism and Marxism. The Revolutionary spirit was so strong that only a few could withstand it. In me it only aroused distaste, thus I looked for something entirely different. I had entered into the religious-philosophical society which was founded by Russian intellectuals in memory of Solovyev in order to bring the Christian world-view into harmony with political and social radicalism. Here I found the active leaders of the movement . . . and together with them I read Solovyev's [sic] writings. I filled with enthusiasm for this great Russian philosopher, who now became very important for my spiritual development.[219]

Through this small philosophical society, both Salkauskis and Dovydaitis became acquainted with the philosophy of Vladimir Soloviev, who voiced "the need for a Christian renaissance and the religious regeneration of mankind."[220] Soloviev, who became friends

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[219]Joseph Ehret, "Solovyev and Salkauskis," *Lituanus* 9 (September 1963), p. 77.

[220]Andrzej Walicki, *A History of Russian Thought: From the Enlightenment to Marxism* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1979), p. 335.

with Dostoevsky toward the end of the latter's life, was greatly influenced by him. Dostoevsky reacted vigorously against "all disturbance or perversion of the civic and moral order" and called for a total religious and moral rebirth.[221]

Putting Dostoevsky and Soloviev's words into action, Dovydaitis—as president of the new movement—called for a renewal of self, life, morality, and education through Christ. The motto of *Ateitis—Omnia instaurare in Christo* (Ephesians 1:10) or *Visa atnaujinti Kristuje* (Renew all in Christ)—created a creed for the new Christian movement. Pope Pius X (1903-1914), in his first encyclical, *Omnia instaurare in Christo*, 4 October 1903, popularized it when he called for a religious, moral and social renewal.[222] The mystical element of "rebirth" can be traced back to Russia's initial reaction to eighteenth century rationalism, which manifested itself in a trend toward either mysticism or philosophical romanticism. The trend toward mysticism, a direct influence of the mystical elements within Russian Freemasonry, preached the idea of "'inner Christianity' and the need for a moral awakening," with the promise of "suprarational powers of cognition" with which "to penetrate the mysteries of nature" after "being morally reborn and vitalized by faith."[223] The declaration concentrated theology, philosophy and science, weaving them into one Christocentric hierarchy articulating the call "Renew all in Christ!" The ideologue Salkauskis philosophically fit the call to the movement in *Ateitininku principams*, in 1925, and *Ateitininku ideologija*, in 1933.[224]

Organized during the second half of the Lithuanian national rebirth, the organization's newsletter *Ateitis* joined the nationalistic movement started by the 1883 issue of *Ausra*. The new intelligentsia that supported *Ausra* fell into folk nationalist lines, setting itself

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[221]Walicki, *History of Russian Thought*, p. 346.

[222]Yla, *Ateitininku vadovas*, p. 67.

[223]Walicki, *History of Russian Thought*, p. 73.

[224]Yla, *Ateitininku vadovas*," pp. 67-68.

against a religious moral national path. Espousing Slavophile Ivan Vasilyevich Kireevski's (1806-1856) idea that "When luxury first penetrated Russia . . . it came as a contagious disease from neighboring lands,"[225] Salkauskis observed in the third year of Lithuania's independence that ". . . foreign ways began to penetrate into the national individuality [*tautine individualybe*] in which she was grounded."[226] *Ausra* was, therefore, according to Salkauskis, "threatened by inroads of Russian nihilism" since it lifted national ideals without determining the spiritual support. "*Ausra* elucidated our worldly life in our homeland," thus devoid of a deeper content, which a new movement would bring or fulfill.[227] Salkauskis expressed the deep conviction that *Ateitis* came to fulfill that which *Ausra* lacked and that *Ausra* was essential to *Ateitis* as a supporting pillar. He said:

> Without *Ausra* it would not have been possible to have the kind of *Ateitis* as it is now, and without *Ateitis*, *Ausra* would not have had any significance or meaning. *Ateitis* is to *Ausra*, as the essence of life is to its form or shape. In other words, our two re-births—national and spiritual—are organically intertwined.[228]

Initially, the clerical faction within the movement justified the inclusion of "love of country" or "national spirit" by equating it to a religious or moral virtue. According to the spiritual leader of the *Ateitis* Federation, Rev. Dr. Stasys Yla,

> . . . thinking that virtue not only is an essential part or intrinsic element of Catholicism but also a pillar of

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[225]Alain Besancon, *The Rise of the Gulag: Intellectual Origins of Leninism* (New York: Continuum, 1981), p. 69.

[226]Stasys Salkauskis, "Pirmosios Atzalos," *Ruomuva*, 1 (April 1921), 32.

[227]Yla, *Ateitininku vadovas*, pp. 31-32.

[228]Yla, *Ateitininku vadovas*, p. 32.

> nationalism, they thought it easy to bring about the union of one to the other. At the same time, the movement elevated itself to another plane since the principles of Catholicism are not only virtue but also truth and grace (mercy). If nationalism encompasses all these elements then it can form a union and be in harmony with Catholicism.[229]

Their justification was found in the church's Christian doctrine. According to Mykolas Krupavicius (1885-1970), a founding organizer of the *Ateitis* Federation, VLIK and World Lithuanian Community both in Europe and the United States, the church officially lifted the idea of "nation" into the spiritual realm. Krupavicius quoted Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903), who wrote in his January 10, 1890, encyclical, *Sapientiae Christianae*, that the love of the spiritual Church and the love of country are related.[230] They came from the same eternal beginning since their creator is God. Therefore, obligations for one could not contradict the other. The encyclical reflected Friedrich Wilhelm von Schelling's idea that "there is a single 'Spirit' or 'Idea' or 'Absolute' of which all that exists is a unique aspect, or an articulation" of, thereby each reflecting or expressing the other.[231] Soloviev's earlier works also expressed this conception of the "integral wholeness"—a Schellingian idea that Ivan Kireevsky (Kireevski) developed in opposition to the destructive effects of rationalism.[232] Interestingly enough, Soloviev tried to get the aid of both the Croation Bishop Josip Strossmeyar and Pope Leo XIII in fulfilling his dream of seeing mankind unified spiritually under the Pope and politically under Russia.[233] Pope Leo XIII thought that only

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[229]Yla, *Ateitininku vadovas*, p. 33.

[230]Mykolas Krupavicius, *Lietuviskoji iseivija* (Castelnuovo Don Bosco, Italy: Salesian Press, 1959), p. 94.

[231]Isaiah Berlin, *Russian Thinkers* (New York: Penguin Books, 1979), p. 139.

[232]Walicki, *History of Russian Thought*, p. 375.

[233]Walicki, *History of Russian Thought*, p. 374.

a miracle could realize the Russian philosopher's ideal. The December 23, 1922, encyclical of Pius XI (1922-1939), *Ubi Arcano Dei*, also reinforced the importance and usefulness of love of country and culture (nation), when preached according to Christian doctrine, since it added to encourage various virtues and works.[234] The idea of love of country as virtue can also be traced back to theological systems of St. Augustine (354-430 A.D.) and St. Thomas Aquinas (1225?-1274) who referred to nation as god's creation and gift to man.

Clerical involvement and the inclusion of "national spirit" as an important element of the movement became more understandable in light of the encyclicals and letters of Pope Leo XIII. As early as 1883, the communications of Pope Leo XIII not only viewed the idea of love of country as a virtue that had to be nurtured, guarded and spread among the faithful but also praised clerics for championing their own nation's goodness through their sacrifice and display of patriotism.[235]

The romantic view of stressing the creative and spiritual role of a nation's character was reflected in the *Ateitis* movement. Salkauskis viewed the influence of foreign cultures—threat of materialism, Russian nihilism, atheism, cosmopolitanism—in religious and spiritual terms. He was influenced by early Russian intellectuals such as Petr Chaadaev (1794-1856), members of the Wisdom-Lovers Circle, and the Slavophiles as well as Hegel and the Russian Hegellians. Chaadaev and the Russian Slavophiles argued, using Schelling's philosophy, that "a people or a culture develops organically, manifesting distinctive spiritual traits in all major aspects of its social and national life."[236] Salkauskis' synthesis of Schelling's philosophy of art and nature, as developed by the Russian intellectuals of the 1830s known as the Wisdom-Lovers, was apparent and yet unique. The Wisdom-Lovers reflected Schelling's views in that they saw

> . . . the world as a living work of art, and art as an organic unity of consciousness and conscious

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[234]Krupavicius, *Lietuviskoji iseivija*, p. 94.

[235]Krupavicius, *Lietuviskoji iseivija*, p. 136.

[236]Walicki, *History of Russian Thought*, p. 174.

> creation. The inspired artist, they felt, did not imitate reality but created anew according to divine principles of creation; he therefore truly deserved to be called a divine being. Art, moreover, was closely related to philosophy; one of the tools of philosophy was in fact artistic intuition.[237]

Though similar to that of Schelling and the Wisdom-Lovers, Salkauskis differed from them on the relationship and importance between the artist and nature. For Salkauskis, man's nature influenced the soul which, in turn, created cultural works by cultivating nature. Culture perfected nature and raised it to a higher plane. Thus, he viewed works of art as more beautiful than natural things. He did not deify or worship nature particularly although he cultivated nature in the creation of culture since he believed that man's soul unfolded only through cultural works.[238] For Schelling, then the key to understanding and attaining the Absolute or the ideal was nature, while to Salkauskis it was culture.

Although he emphasized culture as the center, Salkauskis saw religion as the final stage of life. In culture man worked alone while in religion man worked with God. Religion eliminated all the obstacles that man faced, providing him with Absolute Truth and thereby freeing him from all imperfection. He wrote that while "Culture can make man reach perfection, religion promises to make him holy. In this way religion attains that which culture could not reach."[239] Because religion became the goal of culture, culture served as a foundation for religion. Through the synthesis of nature, culture and religion, Salkauskis developed an ideology that viewed Christianity as two realities—the ideal and the factual—with the ideal Christ, God-Man

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[237]Walicki, *History of Russian Thought*, p. 76.

[238]Antanas Maceina, "Stasys Salkauskis" in *Ateitininku ideologija* by Stasys Salkauskis (Putnam, Connecticut: N. Pr. Seseru Press, 1954), p. 22.

[239]Yla, *Ateitininku vadovas*," p. 39. Also Stasys Salkauskis, "Krikscioniskoji politika ir gyvenamoji valanda," *Ruomuva*, 1 (April 1921), 51-53.

uniting the two.[240] Thus, *Ateitininkai* saw the ideal in life as realistically attainable and the mere fact of attempting to reach the ideal moved that person forward into the future toward a life of perfection, which enabled him to reach the reality of the highest ideal.

Like the Slavophiles, Salkauskis viewed the whole of the human personality as having an integral structure with one "inner focus." He did not see the three stages of life fragmented because he viewed each lower stage serving as a foundation of the higher and each higher stage as extending and fulfilling the lower.[241] To him, nature served to reinforce culture, which, in turn, extended and fulfilled nature. Culture elevated religion, and religion, in turn, extended and rounded out culture. Religion by itself, however, was weak since it did not have its own forms, because God's forms are manifest through man, thereby making it dependent upon culturally created forms. Subsequently, Salkauskis came to the conclusion that lack of cultural awareness was not conducive to religious understanding and creation and, without religion, man would not achieve an integral wholeness and would thereby leave unfinished undertakings.[242] Through culture alone, however, man could not reach the ideal, since he would not have a realistic foundation in life, and only reality, according to Schelling, was unitary.

Salkauskis developed a unique rationale for "nationalism" by making use of Schelling's idea of the interrelationship that existed between all things—that each part "reflects" or "expresses" the other[243]—stressing the idea of culture as the key to both nature and religion. Using the basic idea of interrelationships to achieve a whole, Schelling taught that genius and greatness were measured in relation to their inspiration by and expression of "the 'spirit' of their milieu—state, culture, nation—which is itself an 'incarnation' of the self-

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[240]Salkauskis, "Krikscioniskoji politika," 51-52.

[241]Maceina, "Stasys Salkauskis," p. 24. Also Salkauskis, "Krikscioniskoji politika," pp. 52-53.

[242]Maceina, "Stasys Salkauskis," p. 24.

[243]Berlin, *Russian Thinkers*, p. 139.

realisation of the spirit of the universe. . . ."[244] The Wisdom-Lovers also incorporated in their world-view romantic nationalism calling, or a "truly national and 'distinctive' culture," a conceiving of "the nation as a whole transcending its individual parts, a unique collective individuality evolving historically by its own 'distinctive' principles."[245] In short, Salkauskis developed Hegel's idea of "cultural history as a source of light— . . . itself a cardinal step in the history of thought" since, according to Hegel,

> . . . the many activities of the human spirit are interrelated, that the artistic or scientific thought of an age is best understood in its interplay with the social, economic, theological, legal activities pursued in the society in which artists and scientists live and work. . . .[246]

By subordinating nature and religion to culture, Salkauskis not only brought about the integral wholeness of a nation but also established the basis for refuting the thesis that science and religion are incompatible.

By renewing all in Christ, men and women within the movement would not only experience a "second birth" for self and country but also usher in a new spiritual renaissance. The *Ateitis* movement's goal to create or produce ideal men and women who, in turn, would create an ideal social and cultural order was not entirely original in that it echoed Chaadaev who felt that individuals and nations endowed with what he called supraindividual "moral personalities" had the potential to become instruments of history.[247] Consequently, in his attempt to create such moral personalities, Salkauskis' three stages of life bear a great similarity to Chaadaev's "Great All"—a hierarchy of states of being consisting of four levels: he placed God at the summit of this hierarchy, followed by the "social sphere" that is the universal mind or "the collective consciousness

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[244]Berlin, *Russian Thinkers*, p. 139.

[245]Walicki, *History of Russian Thought*, p. 77.

[246]Berlin, *Russian Thinkers*, p. 140.

[247]Walicki, *History of Russian Thought*, p. 85.

preserved in tradition." Far below the second, he placed "the empirical individual consciousness—the consciousness of individuals who have lost their grasp on the wholeness of being," and placed nature before man as the lowest level. Chaadaev believed the social (supraindividual) sphere, which handed down traditions, not only made it possible for man to rise above the animal stage but also enabled the individual to recognize God and Divine Truth. He attempted "to return to a religious interpretation of history" by defending tradition which created historical continuity and was essential in understanding the Absolute.[248] Taking this idea one step further, the Slavophiles felt that redemption of man lay in the reintegration of the Westernized elite with the common people who preserved their national individuality.[249] Both Chaadaev and the Slavophiles hoped for a future religious renaissance.

The philosophies of Chaadaev and the Slavophiles greatly influenced the writings of Fyodor Dostoevsky and Vladimir Soloviev. Continuing in the Slavophile tradition, Dostoevsky expressed their ideas symbolically in his works. For example, the theme of a return to the common people, to the "native soil," can be seen in numerous works, including *The Adolescent*, where

> The Marriage of Sonia and Vershilov is a symbol of future reconciliation between the lost intelligentsia and the people who, in spite of temptation . . . have kept faith with their moral ideas and have preserved in their religion the pure, undefiled image of Christ.[250]

Dostoevsky also hoped for harmony between the different spheres of human life—a harmony on earth in this life. He tried to "gain insight into the mystical meaning of history through the concept of Godmanhood."[251] Both Dostoevsky and Soloviev have been credited

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[248]Walicki, *History of Russian Thought*, pp. 83-84.

[249]Walicki, *History of Russian Thought*, p. 91.

[250]Walicki, *History of Russian Thought*, p. 323.

[251]Walicki, *History of Russian Thought*, p. 346.

for stimulating the interests of twentieth century educated Russians in a "religious renaissance."

The influence of Chaadaev and the Slavophiles, via Dostoevsky and Soloviev, can clearly be seen in the cultural philosophy of the twentieth century Lithuanian Salkauskis. Stimulated by Soloviev's religious philosophy, Salkauskis left Moscow in 1914 for Samarkand (central Asia), where he contemplated conditions surrounding Lithuanian cultural rebirth. He thought that

> National civilization stems from two cultural products. Folk culture gives it a material foundation [traditions], while the culture of the intelligentsia lends it an ideological content.[252]

He dwelled on ways to unite the "national mind" *(tautos prota)* of the enlightened society to the "national instinct" of the native peasantry since the separation of the two had stopped cultural growth. Like the Slavophiles and Dostoevsky, he believed that

> . . . national civilization grows positively and thrives from a folk and intelligentsia working together harmoniously; the first develops and protects ethnic treasures; the second creates a higher spiritual culture and in that way gives a wholeness to folk culture. Even though it is only the intelligentsia who can bring a greater significance to national civilization, folk culture takes precedence in that it is the basic foundation of national life.[253]

Only the return of the educated segment of society to the peasantry could accomplish the unification of ideals with "reality."

Believing that thoughts were not abstract but rather were rooted to life, Salkauskis used the life of Jesus Christ as an example of life and thought as one. The idea of Christianity as two realities—the ideal and the real or factual and God as the highest ideal as well as

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[252]Salkauskis, "Pirmosios Atzalos," p. 25.

[253]Salkauskis, "Pirmosios Atzalos," p. 26.

absolute reality—was fundamental to Salkauskis' synthesis of nature, culture, and religion. Salkauskis' idea found its origins in Soloviev's philosophy of "Godmanhood" since "Godmanhood . . . [provided] Soloviev with the necessary link to achieve his philosophical aim, a philosophy of total-unity embracing all aspects of reality and uniting science and philosophy on the one hand and theology on the other in the ultimate synthesis which is reality."[254] Salkauskis, just as Soloviev, not only gave religion a rational basis but also united matter with spirit. Essentially, Russian thinkers of the nineteenth century took Hegel's ideas of only the rational as being real and the real alone as being rational, and his refusal to recognize the "dichotomies between reason and passion, spirit and matter,"[255] to prove the existence of two realities—the ideal and the factual. Thus, both Soloviev and Salkauskis used Western rationalism to prove that the Absolute—Christ, Man-God—is reality.

Echoing the Slavophile tradition, Salkauskis wrote that "The Lithuanian national rebirth caused peasants and intellectuals to unite culturally in creating a national individuality."[256] While the Slavophiles hoped for this reintegration to occur in Russia, which would in turn lead to a religious renaissance, it was nineteenth century Lithuania, historically speaking, that experienced a rebirth of national individualism culminating in a religious rebirth during the beginning of the twentieth century. By having its elite return to the common people for a redefinition of its ethnic identity, Lithuania regained its national individuality. Only then could integration, according to both Chaadaev's "Great All" hierarchy as well as Salkauskis' "Three Stages of Life," occur since "social sphere" and "culture" were foundations for the Absolute. Thus, the *Ateitis* movement became a logical step toward the full integration of the human psyche—the integration of intellectual, moral, economic and religious spheres of life. In this light, the integrality of *Ausra* and *Ateitis* became apparent. Soloviev

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[254]James M. Edie, James P. Scanlon, and Mary-Barbara Zeldin, eds. with the collaboration of George L. Kline, *Russian Philosophy* (Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 1976), Vol. 3, p. 58.

[255]J. F. Talmon, *Romanticism and Revolt: Europe 1815-1848* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1967), p. 88.

[256]Salkauskis, "Pirmosios Atzalos," p. 35.

expressed this same idea of the integration of society and history as mankind's means to salvation. "Society is the completed . . . individual, and the individual is . . . concentrated society," and "if we can have no absolute moral solidarity with those who have *died*, there can be no ground for such solidarity with those who certainly *will die*."[257]

Soloviev's "absolute moral solidarity" with both the dead and the living and Salkauskis' development of culture as a natural fact of a community through the reintegration of "instinct" and "national mind" can be traced to the Slavophile concept of the integral wholeness of "man's spiritual forces."[258] Furthermore, nineteenth century German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies' classic study, *Community and Society,* defined and thereby reinforced the importance not only of "culture" in the Slavophile concept but also the Salkauskis concept of the "Three Stages of Life":

> "Community" was described by Tönnies and the Slavophiles as a living organism: "society" was presented as a mechanical artifact, a mere sum of isolated individuals. Tönnies and the Slavophiles alike insisted that real community is based on mutual understanding, concord, and unanimity *(Eintracht)*, while society is characterized by inner conflict, mutual tension, and the rule of a mechanical, quantitative majority, which presupposes an internal atomization and disintegration of organic social ties. Community is an enlarged family; in society, human relationships assume a contractual form. The collective will of the community expresses itself as common belief and common custom; . . .[259]

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[257]Edie, et al., *Russian Philosophy*, Vol. 3, p. 60.

[258]Walicki, *History of Russian Thought*, p. 108.

[259]Walicki, *History of Russian Thought*, p. 108.

It is exactly this natural "community" which Salkauskis harmoniously synthesized with religion and with nature. In the process, he developed an ideology that stressed the integral wholeness of the individual, loyalty to his national community (national individuality) and his responsibilities toward the betterment of humankind.

Ateitis members saw themselves as the embodiment of G.W. Hegel's interpretation of "The World Spirit" operating

> . . . through a succession of emergent nations and titanic individuals. Each . . . summoned by its Maker to display . . . all its potentialities, and . . . to serve as the distilled essence of the World Spirit and the catalyst of change.[260]

The integration of two lasting principles, the national culture and Christianity—Roman Catholicism in particular—enabled *Ateitis* members to preserve national individuality as a "community." In the diaspora, however, the organization encountered opposition to its community from the third stage—religion—in the form of the Roman Catholic Church.

What Russian intellectuals of the nineteenth century had dreamed of doing, the *Ateitis* movement put into action—a religious renaissance. Ironically, the two Russian centers of learning to contribute to this movement were Moscow and St. Petersburg. The philosophical elements came from Moscow, while the activist elements came from St. Petersburg.

THE LITHUANIAN MISSION

The Romantic idea that every man had a mission in life also made its appearance in nineteenth century Russian thought. Schelling wrote that

> Every people is a bearer of a certain idea, which represents one or another degree in the development of the self-consciousness of the whole of mankind:

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[260]Talmon, *Romanticism and Revolt*, p. 88.

> by developing this idea through its history, every people in that way contributes its share to the process of the universal historical development.[261]

Petr Chaadaev built on that idea to develop a national mission for Russia. Chaadaev believed that Russia had neither a history nor a memory and, therefore, justification for its existence as nation translated into a mission. Vladimir Odoevsky (1803-1869), the most talented representative of the Wisdom-Lovers, took Chaadaev's idea a step further. For Odoevsky, "Russia and Western Europe were not two opposing poles of an antithesis" but rather he saw Russia's mission as that of saving European civilization instead of replacing "it with a new and radically different culture."[262]

A direct correlation can be seen between Lithuania's mission, as developed by Salkauskis and refined by his student Antanas Maceina, and that of the Russian thinkers. Salkauskis, like Chaadaev, observed that

> . . . Lithuanian people . . . have not created anything worthwhile, that which could be prized by the cultured world. . . . coming from the cradle of Asia, the Lithuanian people inhabited Europe long before many other peoples, but only appeared on the European scene much later. . . . Until the XI century she lived almost unknown to her neighbors . . . .[263]

In a lecture presented to the Baltic Society in Lüneburg, Germany, Maceina outlined Salkauskis' idea of a Lithuanian mission and formalized it into a task for the diaspora community. By approaching Lithuanians in terms of asking questions that focused on history in relation to international issues, Maceina proposed that a revived

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[261]Eugene A. Moskoff, *The Russian Philosopher Chaadayev, His Ideas and His Epoch* (New York: Colonial Printing & Publishing, 1937), p. 79.

[262]Walicki, *History of Russian Thought*, p. 79.

[263]Salkauskis, "Pirmosios Atzalos," p. 31.

Lithuanian state could serve Western civilization as a cultural intermediary since

> . . . cultural mediation shows itself as a historical and, for the most part, unconscious process in the existence of the mediating nation. A nation is naturally oriented in this direction by geographic conditions, historical inheritance and political situation.[264]

Maceina felt that Lithuania was ready for this task because it not only had retained its identity but also had been receptive to the value of German and Slavic cultures—an important function of a cultural mediator. He observed that in order ". . . to live and mature, the Lithuanian nation, in its politics as in its culture, must maintain a balance between East and West."[265] From Maceina's viewpoint, East and West were incomplete when existing by themselves and therefore naturally drawn to one another. Reminiscent of Odoevsky, Maceina concurred with Salkauskis, saying that "The historical mission of Lithuania is to mediate between the extremes of European life . . . and so become the area of spiritual exchange between East and West."[266] Thus, the task of educated Lithuanians was to aid in the rebirth of Lithuania. To the diaspora elite, that justified the existence of the World Lithuanian Community and the *Ateitis* Federation.

Maceina stressed that "this contribution inspires us as the very justification of our existence."[267] As the ideological heir to Salkauskis in the diaspora, he realized that "Many emigrations have dissipated precisely because they turned away from the universal problem of their

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[264]Antanas Maceina, "Tasks of Baltic Exiles," *Lituanus*, 5 (June 1959), p. 36. Originally a lecture presented to the Baltic Society in Lüneburg, Germany, it later appeared in the collection *Baltischen Völker in ihrer europäischen Verpflichtung*, Hannover / Döhren, 1958.

[265]Maceina, "Tasks of Baltic Exiles," p. 38.

[266]Maceina, "Tasks of Baltic Exiles," p. 38.

[267]Maceina, "Tasks of Baltic Exiles," p. 37.

age and concentrated on their own personal and national fate" instead of seeking "deliverance in the fulfillment of a higher aim."[268] Maceina voiced Lithuania's mission in terms of *Ateitis* ideals of harmony and balance—that is to say, to be in harmony with oneself and one's society, and at the same time, maintain a realistic balance in terms of personal and national options. When Salkauskis formulated a national mission of world importance for a people who needed to justify their existence as a nation, *Ateitis* members—as the bearers of the mission—lifted their organization beyond the bounds of a Lithuanian nationalism.

EARLY FORMULATION

Diaspora Lithuanianism can be traced to cultural geographer Kazys Pakstas (1893-1960). He came to the United States in 1914, where he studied sociology at Fordham University. Upon graduation in 1918, Pakstas left for Switzerland at the close of World War I, whereupon he worked within the international community, devoting his energies to the Lithuanian cause. He earned a Ph.D. in geography from the University of Fribourg, in 1923. After a short stay in the United States, he accepted an invitation to chair the department of geography at the University of Kaunas (1925-1938).

While at the University of Kaunas, Pakstas led private expeditions to Angola, Mozambique, Madagascar and the New Hebrides Islands to explore possibilities for Lithuanian colonization. Known as an exponent of "Reserve Lithuania" *(Atsargine Lietuva)* during the last decade of the independence period, Pakstas saw Lithuania's geographical position between Germany and the Soviet Union as a precarious one. He maintained that the nation's survival depended upon a unity of purpose and an intensified cultural activism. Consequently, Pakstas concurred with the Czech Thomas Masaryk and his contempoary Jonas Sliupas on the need for formation of a Middle European Federation that would include the Baltic states. His works, *Colonization Opportunities in Angola* (1934) and *L'Emigration lituanienne et ses causes* (1938), set forth his theories on emigration and introduced Lithuanians to the idea of a diaspora.

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[268]Maceina, "Tasks of Baltic Exiles," p. 34.

Throughout most of the independence period, Pakstas urged the ruling Nationalists *(Tautininkai)* to move away from a one-party state. As leader of the banned Catholic-oriented *Ateitis* Federation, he felt the government had retarded national individuality. To Pakstas, cultural autonomy within Lithuania was paramount as a first step toward cultural advancement. An emphasis on cultural autonomy, by way of a communal spirit, appears in the six guidelines he expounded as necessary for the maintenance of a diaspora.

Countries Unfit for Colonization[269]

1. It is not feasible to concentrate Lithuanian colonization near large cities where white or yellow races are dominant.
2. Lithuanian colonization does not fit into monocultural countries where only one language has a legal right in schools and government offices.
3. Lithuanian colonization does not fit in those countries where there is no possibility of having a Lithuanian diocese with its own ecclesiastical powers.
4. Lithuanian colonization does not fit those countries where there are at least several thousand whites, rural or urban, since there is always the danger to mix and embrace a foreign language and culture.

Countries Fit for Colonization

5. Countries fit for colonization are those with sparse population, with much free land, and those without large cities where Lithuanian cultural elements would dominate and enlighten without clashing.

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[269]Kazys Pakstas, "British Honduras" file at World Lithuanian Community Archives in Chicago.

6. Countries best fit for colonization are those British Colonies (not dominions) where the white race has not established itself and which have polycultural traditions since that would allow for the establishment of Lithuanian language schools.

Though the public and the government showed no interest in his plans, Pakstas refused to give up his diaspora aspirations. Cèslovas Grincevicius, head librarian of Chicago's World Lithuanian Community Archives and who was slated to leave Lithuania by way of a special fund created in the 1930s, recalled that

> Professor Pakstas selected eighty of us *(Ateitininkai)* to travel and live in the United States as part of his plan to create an elite in the diaspora who would act as a vanguard for others who would join us when and if Lithuania lost its independence.[270]

The mood of the country did not support the project. Subsequently, the visionary left Lithuania in 1938 for the University of California at Los Angeles where he secured a teaching position as lecturer in geography.

Before massive immigration began from the DP camps of Europe, VLIK revived the concept of a Reserve Lithuania as an alternative to the low annual Lithuanian quota to the United States. In 1946, ex-president Kazys Grinius and former defense minister Rapolas Skipitis wrote the geographer, who at that time lived in Santa Monica, California, asking for help in finding "land where we could settle 60,000 refugees."[271] Skipitis informed Pakstas that the number included 2,000 agriculturalists who, with their families, totaled 8,000 people. Even though 85 percent of the DPs came from farming

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[270]Interview with Ceslovas Grincevicius, February 26, 1983, head librarian at World Lithuanian Community Archives, Chicago.

[271]Pakstas letter to Vebras on July 3, 1946, in "British Honduras" file.

families, only 24 percent were actually engaged in farming at the time of the 1944 exodus.[272] Nevertheless

> The other part, although having their direct professions or trades, never quite loosened the ties that bound them to farming: they either purchased small farms which they ran themselves or they had been working on farms until they prepared for an independent profession or trade. The percentage of true townsmen who know nothing about farming is about 10% to 15%. Thus we can boldly say that 85% of the Lithuanian DPs know a lot about farming beside their professions or trades.[273]

In light of the statistical profile of the Lithuanian refugees, Pakstas' call to create a second homeland, based on an agricultural community, seemed plausible.

Pakstas' July 3, 1946 letter to Dr. J. Vebras, Chairman of VLIK's "Committee to Examine Emigration," outlined socio-geographic conditions necessary for the preservation of a national diaspora. Pakstas felt that only away from dense population areas would it be "possible to create cities with purely Lithuanian names, traditions, commerce and business." He recommended colonization away from large cities (50,000 or more), recognizing that denationalization occurs when people with professions turn toward individualism and that it accelerates in places where these professionals have more in common with the host society. He expressed a preference for countries having the least number of white inhabitants because, settling among whites, Lithuanians would pick up their traits. Among blacks, browns or reds, they would teach Lithuanian to the lower cultures. "To consider northern countries is not possible since those countries are giants. Alaska's legislature has

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[272]Juozas Pasilaitis, *Hearken Then Judge: Sidelights on Lithuanian DP's* (Stuttgart, Germany: J. F. Steinkopf, 1946), p. 26.

[273]Pasilaitis, *Hearken Then Judge*, p. 26.

already rejected our colonization project."[274] Because it was difficult ". . . to emigrate to the U.S.A., . . . thought must be turned to the Central America area where there is much open space."[275] Pakstas drew on his experience when he suggested ". . . it is worth examining the New Hebrides . . . which have only 43,000 inhabitants . . . but with enough room for 100,000 inhabitants."[276] He also offered "a closer examination of possibilities within the British Imperial domain," explaining that "White people in British Honduras number only 1,000 and not of one nationality, . . . the British have barely 400 and they are scattered."[277] However, Pakstas' suggestions to colonize underdeveloped areas paled before new United States immigration laws, which opened up the "land of opportunity" for the Lithuanian refugees.

Within the transplanted Lithuanian community, Pakstas' continual fears of assimilation into Anglo society prompted him to renew the "Reserve Lithuania" project. In 1958, the geographer sent emigré Lithuanian playwright, novelist and poet Anatolijus Kairys to explore the possibility of colonization in the Bahamas. Kairys reported that Bahamian officials would not consider Lithuanian as a second official language and would not consent to a separate school system.[278]

An examination of Pakstas' private papers showed him actively pursuing British Honduras as a site, stressing that it was only 2,000 miles from the main Lithuanian settlement in Chicago. In a July 2, 1958, communication to J. A. Waight, Director of Surveys in Belize, the acting governor of British Honduras wrote:

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[274]Pakstas letter to Vebras, written July 3, 1946.

[275]Pakstas letter to Vebras.

[276]Pakstas letter to Vebras.

[277]Pakstas letter to Vebras.

[278]Interview with Anatolijus Kairys, February 15, 1983, playwright, novelist, poet and chief organizer for Pakstas British Honduras project.

> Dr. K. Pakstas of the College of Steubenville, Ohio [where he had relocated from UCLA] is paying a visit to British Honduras to look into the possibilities of immigration for a small group of farmers of Lithuanian origin from the United States and Canada. . . .
>
> He is anxious to obtain detailed information on the current rates of land tax, price of land . . . .[279]

Pakstas spent most of July 1958 operating out of the Bellevue Hotel in Belize. Prior to his departure to the British colony, he studied the "Memorandum of Agreement between the Government of British Honduras and Representatives of the Mennonite Churches of Chihuahua, Mexico" (app. 2) in which the government of British Honduras granted the Mennonites linguistic, cultural, religious and economic concessions as incentives to settle there.[280]

In the course of three meetings during the summer of 1958, Pakstas submitted to T. D. Vickers eleven questions related to Lithuanian colonization of British Honduras. He received the answers to two of the eleven questions—cultural autonomy and territorial autonomy—by September 1. The agreement on cultural autonomy stated that

> If the Lithuanian group was able to satisfy the Government that it was going to make a material contribution to the development of agriculture in British Honduras, the Government would sympathetically consider any such requests for concessionary treatment with regard to schools, language, etc. In 1957, the Government signed an agreement with the two Mennonite communities from

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[279]Letter from T. D. Vickers, acting Governor of British Honduras, to J. A. Waight, Esq., Director of Surveys, Belize, dated July 2, 1958, in Pakstas "British Honduras" file at World Lithuanian Community Archives.

[280]Undated letter to Anatolijus Kairys in Pakstas "British Honduras" file.

> Chihuahua, Mexico, who have since settled at Blue Creek and Spanish Lookout, respectively, whereby the Mennonites were given by the Government most of the special concessions for which they asked in return for their agreement to help the Government to develop agriculture in British Honduras.[281]

In answer to territorial autonomy, Vickers wrote:

> It would not be within the competence of the British Honduras Government to grant a Lithuanian community more autonomy than that already enjoyed by such local authorities as the Belize City Council and the District Town Boards. Any question of sovereignty or power to issue stamps, etc., would be a matter for consideration and decision by her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.[282]

On September 23, 1958, Pakstas wrote to Vickers from his teaching post in Steubenville, Ohio, informing him that

> There is considerable interest in British Honduras among Lithuanian refugees. . . . We lack initial capital for travel and organizing expenses. Otherwise we have experienced agriculturalists, agronomists, veterinarians, as well as home and road builders. . . . Perhaps at the end of December a small group of Lithuanians may come to see the country.[283]

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[281]"Zaliosios Atzalos Klubas," *Bulletin* (September-October 1958), 1 in Pakstas "British Honduras" file. The agreement appeared in the English original as well as in a Lithuanian translation.

[282]"Zaliosios Atzalos Klubas," in Pakstas "British Honduras" file.

[283]Pakstas "British Honduras" file.

In November of 1958, writing to *Zaliosios Atzalos*, a club formed to recruit future immigrants to *Dausuva* (The New Lithuania), Pakstas noted that

> . . . A. Kairys and J. Kapocius [an editor of the *Lithuanian Encyclopedia* in Boston] have offered to travel . . . . [We need] an agronomist and forest technology [expert to] join. . . . The better land is slowly being taken by Americans. Rev. J. Cepukaitis believes that we must quickly purchase large tracts. . . . It appears to me that we must form a small group and purchase about 30,000 acres. The cost is about 85,000 U.S. dollars. . . .[284]

Pakstas' plans were widely reported and discussed throughout 1958-1959. A series of long letters appeared in the Lithuanian press: Chicago's *Draugas (The Friend)*, New York's *Vienybe* (Equality), Los Angeles' *Lietuviu Dienos (Lithuanian Days)*, as well as Lithuanian student magazines. Even the Kremlin showed an interest in Pakstas' activities by accusing him of selling Lithuanians into British serfdom.[285]

In the beginning of January 1959, Lithuanian journalist Salomeja Narkeliunaite held a widely circulated press interview entitled "Atsargines Lietuvos Klausimas" (the Question of a Reserve Lithuania). In the interview, Pakstas said that "As of 1958, about 100 to 200 people are enthusiastic. . . . We need farm, forest cooperative specialists."[286] The article mentioned that Pakstas aimed at an Aristotelian ideal of about 30,000 people though it was open to greater numbers. Details of the planned settlement, found in Pakstas' "British Honduras" file, outlined the first phase as twenty-five families building a primary school and chapel. Forming a cooperative, these families ($250,000) would grow into a village, then into a town. In

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[284]Pakstas "British Honduras" file.

[285]Pakstas' reply to Radio Moscow charges contained in an undated letter (p. 4) in "British Honduras" file.

[286]Pakstas "British Honduras" file.

the second phase, a population of 1,000 would see the establishment of a middle school, Lithuanian language radio, weekly newspaper and two or three parishes. At this stage the community would include commerce besides agriculture. Pakstas noted that this phase could be easily reached with diaspora financing. The third phase would see the building of a *gymnasium*, geared to becoming the dominant school in all British Honduras, and the creation of a Lithuanian diocese. In the fourth phase, after the population reached 12,000 over a twenty-five year period, growth would be slower since it would be by natural increase. This stage would also see a university created.[287] Having read about the Pakstas plan while directing a hydroelectric project in the West African country of Liberia, Vytautas Sliupas, son of Jonas Sliupas, offered to help buy land in British Honduras, furnish his knowledge in engineering and recruit a Lithuanian seaman from Iceland, living in Monrovia, to organize a merchant marine and to actively work for *Dausuva*, the future Lithuania in Central America.[288]

Though Pakstas left no written analysis of the failed project, his "Six Points for a Diaspora" clearly indicated that he recognized the pivotal role of cultural autonomy in passing on Lithuanianism to succeeding generations. The "Six Points" also reflected Salkauskian ideology and became more comprehensible, when viewed within that framework. In Point Two, Pakstas saw autonomy in education as paramount in passing on Lithuanianism to future generations. Point Three addressed itself to a "national church" in that it saw Roman Catholicism as one of the pillars of Lithuanianism. In Points One and Four, fear of linguistic and biological merger with the host society became a driving force to create a culturally autonomous community and so met the guidelines of national individuality for the individual and community. Points Five and Six envisioned the survival of Lithuanianism in terms of cultural, educational and linguistic

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[287]Original draft copy of letter before circulation to Lithuanian language press in 1959. Also: Newspaper proof of "Atsargines Lietuvos Klausimas" by Salomeja Narkeliunaite and *Lietuviu Dienos* (October 1959), p. 19, in Pakstas"British Honduras" file.

[288]Letter addressed to Professor K. Pakstas, 616 North Fifth Street, Steubenville, Ohio, from V. Sliupas c/o Stanley Eng Co., P.O. Box 444, Monrovia, Liberia, West Africa, dated January 18, 1959.

autonomy in underpopulated areas with polycultural traditions in which it had the possibility of becoming a dominant culture that could, in turn, have a positive effect on others.

Pakstas recognized that "The United States, as well as other established states, was not conducive toward a 'Reserve Lithuania' since no state would let us create a state within a state."[289] Points One and Four explained his last act in life, that of attempting to get the DP generation out of America. Shortly before his death, he recognized that it was too late in 1960, because "Like other ethnic groups that assimilate in America, Lithuanians want wealth and security for themselves and their children."[290] The communal spirit that the "Six Points" required was possible when the DPs were a compact group. Once separated, it was impossible to maintain or reproduce that spirit, because individual goals became a priority. Consequently, Pakstas had to accept failure.

Just as the priority of wealth and security acted as a catalyst for Polanization of the Lithuanian gentry in Lithuania and the first wave immigrants in America, so Pakstas recognized the same element taking hold of the second wave. By embracing individualism and materialism in urban America, "Lithuanians have become *'Ponai'* [gentry],"[291] willing to sacrifice the Tönniesian community that a "Reserve Lithuania" attempted to create.

THE WORLD LITHUANIAN CHARTER

While the actions of the LAC, in its effort to aid Lithuanian refugees, drew Lithuanian-Americans deeper into American politics, the refugee community was repelled by their first contact with Americans through forced repatriation policy. Incidents like the Kempten affair aided the Lithuanian refugees to psychologically withdraw from their American benefactors. They saw their desire to preserve Lithuanianism at odds with a non-Lithuanian world. As one

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[289]Interview with Anatolijus Kairys, December 20, 1985.

[290]Interview with Anatolijus Kairys, December 20, 1985.

[291]Kazys Pakstas' words as quoted by Antolijus Kairys during interview, December 20, 1985.

observer put it, "Being foreigners in a strange place made Lithuanians even more aware of their Lithuanianism."[292] A heightened sense of being different, a strong moral sense of duty to their homeland, lack of any meaningful dialogue with either the Germans or Americans as well as the successful weathering of the forced repatriation era of 1945-1947 contributed to their desire to be masters of their own fate in the diaspora. The community's psychological independence found an outlet through voluntary committees and organizations.

As camp life called for organizations, the need for a centralized governing body became apparent at a November 20-21, 1945, meeting in Wiesbaden. At their second meeting, on March 3-4, 1946, in Hanau, VLIK urged representatives to reorganize themselves into the Lithuanian Exile Community (*Lietuviu Tremtiniu Bendruomene* or LTB). The convention selected a central committee and formulated the philosophy behind the LTB's existence. At that same convention, VLIK presented plans for organizing a World Lithuanian Community (*Pasaulio Lietuviu Bendruomene*, or PLB), for the purpose of maintaining a diaspora.

On November 11, 1948, VLIK accepted a PLB constitutional project. The LTB operated until 1949, the beginning of Lithuanian immigration to the United States and other parts of the world, at which time it restructured itself into the PLB. To deal with the exodus of Lithuanian refugees, VLIK drew up the World Lithuanian Charter *(Pasaulio Lietuviu Charta)*, on June 14, 1949, consisting of thirteen points geared to providing a world-view for present and future generations living in the diaspora:

The World Lithuanian Charter[293]

1. National culture is the inborn community of the people. No one can be forced to withdraw his ties from the national [tribal] community. Lithuanians dispersed throughout the world form the World Lithuanian Community.

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[292]Interview with Stasys Yla, March 23, 1983.

[293]Balys Raugas, ed., *JAVLB trys desimtmeciai* (Brooklyn, New York: Franciscan Press, 1982), pp. 13-14.

2. A person has an inborn right to freely recognize and nurture his national culture. A Lithuanian stays a Lithuanian everywhere and forever. A Lithuanian passes on the essence of national culture, kept alive by his ancestors, to future generations in order to preserve Lithuanianism.
3. Language is the strongest bond within a national community. To Lithuanians, the Lithuanian language and national pride are synonymous.
4. The family is the life of national culture. A Lithuanian builds—creates a Lithuanian family.
5. National culture is the road which leads to international recognition and cooperation. A nation, by proclaiming its genius, universally contributes to the human race.
6. A nation's independence and its future existence is dependent on the nurturing of national culture. Through work, education, resources and sacrifice, the Lithuanian fights to defend and maintain an independent Lithuanian state.
7. The school is the spiritual heart of national culture. The most honorable duty of every Lithuanian is to support the Lithuanian schools.
8. A society or organization is national culture's greatest booster. The Lithuanian creates and supports religious, cultural, youth, charitable, professional and other Lithuanian organizations and clubs.
9. Our forefathers' struggle and sacrifice for Lithuanian language books are testimonies of their commitment to all future generations of Lithuanians. A Lithuanian always organizes and supports the printed Lithuanian word.
10. The history of a nation is its best teacher. The Lithuanian treasures his national past and his national customs. The Lithuanian strives to be worthy of his ancestors because he wishes to be held in high esteem by future generations.

11. National solidarity is the highest national virtue. The Lithuanian therefore nurtures national solidarity. All Lithuanians are equal children of the same nation [tribe], brothers among themselves. As an indication of national consciousness and Lithuanian unity, a Lithuanian continually contributes to a national solidarity fund.
12. A Lithuanian's national colors: yellow, green, red [the flag]. A Lithuanian's national holiday: February 16 [Independence]. A Lithuanian's motto: Lithuanians we are born, Lithuanians we must remain.
13. A Lithuanian is loyal to the country he lives in. A Lithuanian's relationship to non-Lithuanians consists of love and respect for every man's freedom, honor, life, health, and wealth.

In order to fully understand the Lithuanian Charter as the embodiment of the Tönniesian concept of "community," the relationship between the terms *tauta* (nation) and *bendruomene* (community) need to be examined. The Lithuanian language makes no clear distinction between "tribe" and "nation." In fact, both use the word *tauta*. The LTB explained the relationship of these terms in the following way:

> The Lithuanian community began its existence at the origin of the Lithuanian nation-tribe. Its extinction can only occur with the extinction of the last Lithuanian.[294]

A nation defined along inclusive ethnic tribal lines or a tribal territorial base does not translate into the same concept of nation as a political state. The Lithuanian concept leaves no room for a definition of nationality outside of the endogamous tribal unit and blood ties. A

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[294]Stasys Barzdukas, *Lietuvis savo tautoje, valstybeje, bendruomeneje: mintys tautiniam ir visuomeniniam ugdymui bei ugdymuisi* (Chicago: M. Morkunas Press, 1973), p. 177.

clear distinction is made between the inclusive tribal communal members and those that are not part of the tribal-oriented community. Because the term "nation" and "tribe" are interchangeable in Lithuanian, without causing any clash in the area of first principles, only one tribal group qualifies for the definition of "nation" within Lithuanian linguistic and cultural nationalism.

The PLB, through its Charter, articulated this concept of *tauta* (nation). The term *bendruomene* (community) referred to an all-inclusive tribalistic view of the world that had the ". . . ability to act corporately . . . [having] a common set of attitudes and values, based upon common traditions and similar expectations,"[295] transcending formal, legal, or political definitions. Thus, within the parameters of the charter, one could migrate from one state to another state and accept, or at least abide by, the new state's political culture; yet one remained within the ethnic tribal unit based on consanguinity and its world-view, while living in a Western politically created nation-state as referred to in the last point of the charter. Subsequently, the first point of the charter established a World Lithuanian Community which transcended state boundaries, while the last point made loyalty to another country compatible with a Lithuanian consciousness since that loyalty did not erode an ethnic identity as articulated in the rest of the charter.

The influence of *Ateitis* ideology becomes apparent when the World Lithuanian Charter is viewed in terms of Stasys Salkauskis' ideological emphasis on culture as the foundation of the individual, the nation, and the psyche in attaining the ideal. Essentially, the first three points of the charter stress national culture and language as a natural bond of "community" and reiterate Soloviev's idea of the relationship between those who have died to those living and to come. The charter also spells out the vehicles through which this can be accomplished, with the fourth point stating that creating a Lithuanian family is the essence or life of national culture, followed by support of Lithuanian schools and printed matter as well as the religious, cultural, youth, professional and charitable organizations. In effect, the charter voices the five principles of the *Ateitis* movement: family orientation *(Seimiskumas)*, national culture orientation *(tautiskumas)*, Catholic orientation *(katalikiskumas)*, community orientation *(visuomenis-*

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[295]Wirth, "The Ghetto," p. 137.

kumas), and educational orientation *(inteligentiskumas).*[296] The fact that the charter bears a great similarity to the ideology of the *Ateitis* Federation is no coincidence, since Mykolas Krupavicius, an original organizer of the movement, not only proved instrumental in founding the PLB but also in writing the Lithuanian Charter. Though the Lithuanian Charter does not adhere to a particular religion, the simple fact that *Ateitis* members belong to the PLB, even though not all members of the PLB are *Ateitis* members, has been instrumental in incorporating into the PLB a Christian world-view—in particular Roman Catholicism. Consequently, the embodiment of Salkauskis' "Second Stage of Life"—culture—within the Lithuanian Charter not only established the PLB as the very foundation of the diaspora but also as the foundation of the *Ateitis* Federation.

Armed with the World Lithuanian Charter, the post-World War II exiles arrived in America with a value system ideologically geared to oppose assimilation into a numerically superior society. They saw themselves not as immigrants but as a national minority in exile—bearers of the "sacred mission" to redeem an unjust past, recreate their present and through these envision their future. Mykolas Krupavicius observed that under normal conditions four areas upheld nationality and love of country—family, school, church, surroundings. For exiles, only one was left, however—the family in the diaspora was seen as the only Lithuanian fortress. It had the power and the responsibility to develop a Lithuanian spirit by the transfer of culture through language. If the family faltered, all diaspora Lithuanians disappeared.[297]This siege mentality served as a central motivation in the exiles' attempts to retain a Lithuanian identity centered around a militant defense of language. By pitting linguistic nationalism as a counter mind frame to oppose America's political definition of nationality, "Our native language . . . [became] our homeland."[298]

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[296]Stasys Salkauskis, *Ateitininku ideologija* (Putnam, Connecticut: Sisters of the Immaculate Conception Press, 1954), pp. 108-16.

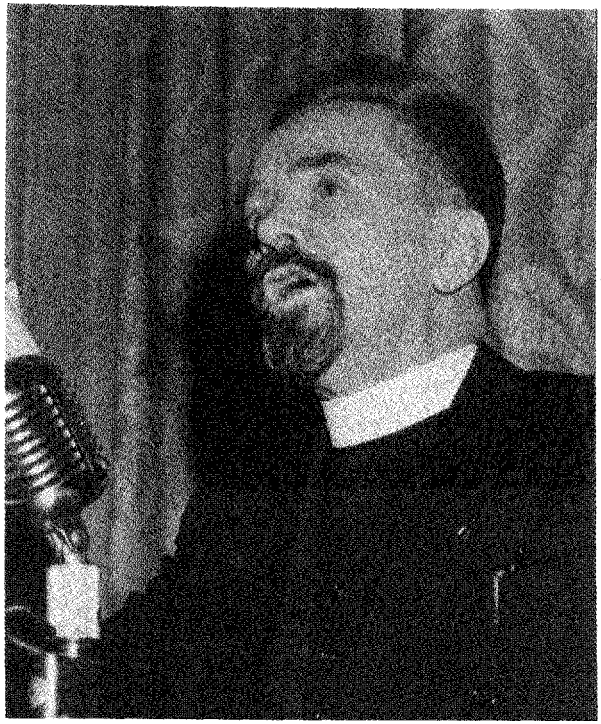
[297]Krupavicius, *Lietuviskoji iseivija*, p. 55.

[298]Krupavicius, *Lietuviskoji iseivija*, p. 51.

Stasys Salkauskis (1886-1941), cultural philosopher who articulated an ideology for Lithuanianism (photo courtesy of Jonas Kuprys).

Ateitis Juris Prudence Women Students group *Fideles Justicia* at Vytautas the Great University, Kaunas 1938 (source: Foto-Studija, K. Baulas—Kaunas, Lithuania).

Kazys Pakstas (1893-1960), visionary who championed a Reserve Lithuania (photo by Vytautas Maselis).



Mykolas Krupavicius (1885-1970) addressing diaspora Lithuanians in the United States, ca. 1952 (photo courtesy of the Lithuanian Research and Studies Center, Chicago).

CHAPTER 5

ESTABLISHMENT OF INSTITUTIONS TO DEFLECT ASSIMILATION

During the period between 1949 and 1954, 30,000 Lithuanian displaced persons reached the United States, with 10,000 settling in Chicago. Once transplanted on American soil, second wave Lithuanians, regardless of previous occupation, started anew. Except those few with easily transferrable skills, most accepted the first available job opportunity, often as unskilled laborers.

One such transplanted professional from Kaunas, Alexandras Plateris (later statistician with the Bureau of Census, Washington, D.C.) combined his intimate knowledge of the exile community with his goal of securing a master's degree from the University of Chicago as a step toward reentering his profession as a statistician. Conducting a study of occupational adjustments, he established that there were 575 exile Lithuanian professionals in Chicago in 1954.[299] Since the exile community had been in Chicago for five years at the time of his study, Plateris broke down the occupation groups into four categories: work in original professions; semi-professional work in a profession similar to the original one, but on a lower level (lawyers transformed into real estate agents); white collar work, including office clerks, sales clerks, self-employed small businessmen; and manual labor.[300] These, in turn, enabled him to study two extremes: those best adjusted and those least adjusted occupationally. He found that the best adjusted groups were physicians and engineers, while the least adjusted included lawyers and high school teachers.[301] Of the latter two, teachers had the least opportunity to reenter their profession while most of the

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[299]Alexandras Plateris, "Occupational Adjustment of Professional Refugees: A Case Study of Lithuanian Professionals in the United States,"*Lituanus* 10, Nos. 3-4 (Fall-Winter 1964), p. 29.

[300]Plateris, "Occupational Adjustment of Professional Refugees," pp. 29-30.

[301]Plateris, "Occupational Adjustment of Professional Refugees," p. 33.

lawyers became real estate agents on the Southwest Side of Chicago.[302] Generally, studies of the Lithuanian exile community reflected the fact that its leadership and economic support came largely from the four groups Plateris studied. Of these, it was the *gymnasium* teachers who became instrumental in laying the foundation for an educational system in an attempt to create diaspora life.

THE WORLD LITHUANIAN ENGINEERS AND ARCHITECTS IN THE DIASPORA

Coming as culture bearers of the Lithuanian Charter, various groups began to reorganize themselves. One such group, the Lithuanian Engineer and Architect Association, reformed in December of 1950. The organization changed its name to World Lithuanian Engineers and Architects Association (*Pasaulio Lietuviu Inzinieriu ir Architektu Sajunga* or PLIAS), in 1951, so as to conform with the concept of diaspora Lithuanianism in the charter. According to Juozas Rimkevicius, a charter member of PLIAS, 50 percent of the approximately 100 exile engineers reentered their field at the same level within one year of arrival and, within two years, the figure jumped to about 80 percent—facts that were substantiated by Plateris' 1954 study.[303]

In the second issue of *Technikos Zodis (The Technical Word)*, published in Chicago in May of 1951, he noted that

> . . . while we lived in the camps, we began to organize courses and schools geared to preparing a new breed of specialists who would enlarge the technical family.[304]

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[302]A. Vilainis and K. Sidlauskas, eds., *Chicagos Lietuviu Metrastis* (Chicago: M. Morkunas Press, 1955), p. 134.

[303]Interview with Juozas Rimkevicius, March 8, 1984.

[304]"Is musu veiklos," *Technikos Zodis*, 1 (May 1951), p. 1.

Thus, between 1950 and 1968, the organization attempted to lift the least adjusted out of blue collar ranks. The Chicago engineers held night and weekend courses in which 320 transplanted Lithuanians from 30 non-engineering professions were re-trained as draftsmen.[305]

In 1977, PLIAS released data on its diaspora membership who were employed within their profession in the Chicago area. The Chicago chapter listed a total of 97 members engaged within the following areas of engineering:[306]

Structural engineers	29
Mechanical engineers	31
Electrial engineers	18
Industrial engineers	3
Chemical engineers	5
Architectural engineers	3
Chemical biological engineers	1
Architects	7
Total	97

In addition to chapters in eight other major American cities, the PLIAS *Vardynas (Directory)* listed four chapters in Australia, three in Canada, one in Brazil and one in England, bringing the total engineer and architect membership within the organization to 328.[307]

According to Rimkevicius, engineering and Lithuanianism are inseparable. Therefore, he saw the PLIAS not solely as a professional organization but as a vehicle designed to keep the Lithuanian technical family and Lithuanian language and culture a viable entity in a diaspora environment. Through *Technikos Zodis*, the organization published articles on state-of-the-art information in the various fields of engineering in the Lithuanian language. Because the advanced engineering information was written and read by engineeers in Soviet

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[305]"Lietuviu Fondas ir PLIAS," 1*Technikos Zodis*, 2 (May 1977), p. 86.

[306]B. Masiokas, *Vardynas* (Chicago: World Lithuanian Engineers and Architects Association, 1977), pp. 1-153.

[307]Masiokas,*Vardynas*, pp. 10-153.

Lithuania, the publication not only informed but also served as a method to update and develop the language—a process that became symbolic of a living diaspora. In this way, new technical terms with Lithuanian diacritical marks were introduced into the Lithuanian language.

The engineers formed a high profile within the leadership ranks of the diaspora and its closed linguistic society. The same engineers were prominent in the multimillion-dollar Lithuanian Foundation, the *Ateitis* Foundation and the Lithuanian Scouts as well as within the activities of the JAVLB and the PLB. For example, chemical engineer Adolfas Damusis remained the central figure in *Ateitis*, while fellow PLIAS member Vytautas Kamantas, a scout, served as president of the PLB.

Even though acculturation, on a professional level, had occurred, the engineers within PLIAS consciously rejected assimilation on all other levels by submerging themselves in

> . . . the cultural patterns of a subsociety which contains both sexes, all ages, and family groups, and which parallels the larger society in that it provides for a network of groups and institutions extending throughout the individuals' entire life cycle.[308]

The data on the Saturday Schools and Scouts revealed a high concentration of students from engineering backgrounds, substantiating PLIAS' dual purpose.

THE LITHUANIAN SCOUTS IN EXILE

One of the first organizations to reform, the Lithuanian Scouts Association, Inc. *(Lietuviu Skautu Sajunga)*, reestablished itself in Chicago in the fall of 1949 with 350 members (fig. 3). Diaspora scouting began shortly after the end of World War II when Head Scoutmaster Dr. Vytautas Cepas revived the movement on July 25,

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[308]Milton M. Gordon, *Human Nature, Class, and Ethnicity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 122.

1945, at Detmold, German.[309] The children in the Lithuanian DP schools became the foundation for a Lithuanian diaspora world scout organization scattered throughout North and South America, Western Europe, Australia and New Zealand. Reforming as part of the World Lithuanian Scouts, Chicago scout representatives, in 1955, negotiated with one Frank A. Rakas to donate eighty acres of land near Custer, Michigan, for the purpose of perpetuating "the culture and traditions of their forefathers in this land of freedom."[310]

Following the scouting ideals of Lord Robert Baden-Powell, the organization developed within a social and cultural context that created opportunities for Lithuanian boys and girls to meet and to develop relationships that would perpetuate scout families. Head Scoutmaster for the Chicago and the midwest region, Liudas Ramanauskas, who became a scout at age eighteeen, in 1947 at Wattenstedt DP Camp, recognized the purpose of the organization as a social and cultural one. He saw scout meetings and activities, whether in Chicago or at Camp Rakas, as a time for meeting the opposite sex, leading to friendships and/or marriage. For that reason, Ramanauskas viewed "Lithuanianism and scouting as inseparable."[311]

A 1983 English language publication of the organization used terminology indicative of a subsociety. It referred to "Lithuanian scouting . . . as belonging to a large family. It is the joining of minds, hands, and hearts to keep alive, augment, and perfect the ideals of the Lithuanian nation. . . ." [312] In order to examine the dynamics of the organization as a subsociety, statistical data were gathered on the American-born offspring of the exiles. Of the approximately 200 male and female scouts within the Chicago community, one-third or seventy-four scouts filled out and returned the questionnaire during registration for summer activities in the first weekend of June 1983.

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[309]Vilainis and Sidlauskas, *Chicagos Lietuviu Metrastis*, p. 95.

[310]"Stovyklavietes Nuosavybe" notebook in the hands of Liudas Ramanauskas.

[311]Interview with Liudas Ramanauskas, May 5, 1983.

[312]Robertas Vitas, ed., *Lithuanian Scouting* (Chicago: Vivi Printing Company, 1983), p. 24.

An analysis of the questionnaire (table 5) revealed that seventy-three respondents were offspring of the second wave with one, a fourteen-year-old female, from the first wave. Of the seventy-four scouts, fifty-one resided in Chicago while the remainder formed a wide suburban arc (question 1). A verbal canvass of both male and female scouts revealed that the opportunity to meet a large number of the opposite sex during scout activities was a strong motivating factor in joining the group. Since the geographical dispersion of a sizable number of the community to the suburbs isolated them from their ethnic group, many viewed the scouts as a social organization acting primarily as a meeting ground for dating and selection of future marriage partners from within the same ethnic stock.

Educational background of scout parents had a direct effect on the attitudes and motivations of scouts toward the diaspora (question 2). While the survey indicated that most parents had at least a high school education, a little over half of the fathers and less than half of the mothers had completed college. Even though the survey (question 8) strengthened the case that the respondents were from ethnically oriented homes, it also revealed (questions 6, 7, and 9) that, in spite of scouts being part of the social propinquity pool of diaspora Lithuanians, language proficiency showed signs of erosion. For example, only 61 percent of the scouts learned Lithuanian at home, with the rest crediting either Saturday School or camp (question 4). This number was substantiated further by the percentage of scouts who had not read and/or purchased any Lithuanian books (questions 6 and 7). The same correlation between education and diaspora attitudes was made in the case of the one scout married to a non-Lithuanian who listed a blue-collar occupation for self and spouse, while the five "married to a Lithuanian" scouts listed professions for both. Engineering appeared most often as the profession for fathers, indicative of a strong influence by involvement in PLIAS.

The results of the survey reinforced the primary role of scouts as that of a cultural and social organization. For example, 85 percent of the respondents referred to themselves as Lithuanian (question 5). They also overwhelmingly indicated that they would send their children to Saturday School, folk dance groups and camp. Also reflective of the organization's social and cultural aims were the number of scouts leaning toward the positive on questions 14-16, and 18. On questions dealing with how comfortable they felt speaking

Lithuanian, marriage to a Lithuanian and knowledge of Lithuanian history (questions 14-16), the majority indicated the positive side on a scale of one to seven. In spite of immersion in diaspora activities, however, only 60 percent had all Lithuanian friends, while 27 percent had two Lithuanian friends, 12 percent had only one and one percent had none. The one respondent listing all three primary group friends as non-Lithuanian did not attend Saturday School, read no Lithuanian printed material and "felt uncomfortable speaking Lithuanian in the presence of non-Lithuanians." She also knew little of Lithuanian history, spoke Lithuanian "fairly" and noted that her parents took no interest in her dating pattern. Though this teenager rejected the concept that "Lithuanians are more intellectual than Americans" or that "Lithuanian food is preferable to American food," she displayed a measure of ethnocentricity (question 18) when she noted that "Lithuanians are more honest," "more culture-rich," and "have better manners." She also planned to send her future children to Lithuanian Saturday School and youth camp. The two females, ages twelve and thirteen, who selected "none of the above" for diaspora activities (question 12), indicated a low proficiency in language, never read Lithuanian newspapers and/or magazines, had one out of three Lithuanian friends in their primary peer group, "always" felt uncomfortable speaking Lithuanian in the presence of non-Lithuanians, chose "4" on a scale of "7" for desire to marry within the ethnic community and indicated traditional *Plotkeles* (Christmas wafers) as not a part of their Christmas, pointing to the absence of ethnic religious traditions. The two teenage girls also checked false on a string of five questions designed to test ethnocentric subjectivism (question 18) and significantly noted that what little Lithuanian they knew came not from the home but from Saturday School, even though both chose Lithuanian over Lithuanian-American or American for nationality identification.

The fact that the overwhelming majority of American-born children in the survey selected "Lithuanian nationality," rejecting a "Lithuanian-American" nationality (question 5), indicated a high degree of success in imparting ethnocentric feelings within a socially oriented group. Logically, most respondents chose to "vacation in Lithuania" (question 13) in the event Lithuania regained independence. The two that chose permanent settlement in Lithuania (a male and female, both nineteen-years-old) selected answers throughout the

questionnaire pointing to an immersion into Lithuanian diaspora society. For example, both indicated "very much" in answer to how much they knew about Lithuanian history. Though question 16 did not intend to measure actual historical knowledge, it was significant when analyzed in terms of the fact that most history books on Lithuania published during the independence period or in the diaspora omitted facts that detracted from the image of a Western-type democracy. The result was a romanticized version of historic Lithuania among diaspora youth—perhaps the kind displayed by the above nineteen-year-olds. Numerous survey participants singled this question out for special attention after completion of the form. All stated that this question was hotly debated in both formal and informal group situations among American born Lithuanian youth. The half-century Russian presence in Lithuania contributed to a viable community in Chicago. It not only allowed exiles and their progeny to claim that the "real" Lithuania existed in the diaspora and not in the "false" Soviet Republic but also to create this "second Lithuania" as a base for the restoration (rebirth) of an independent state.

As noted earlier, one respondent had roots in the first wave immigration and came from a mixed marriage. A comparison of the first wave scout to three others coming from mixed marriages indicated the importance of the female role in determining identification. Two of the four scouts in question four learned Lithuanian primarily in Saturday School and, interestingly enough, marked nationality as Lithuanian-American. The remaining two scouts who indicated they learned Lithuanian at home identified themselves as Lithuanian. The fact that three of the four scouts had Lithuanian mothers, while the first wave immigration scout had a paternal Lithuanian grandmother, indicated that the maternal element played a strong part in motivating all four to enter diaspora activities. In responding to the last part of the questionnaire (question 18), which tested subjective ethnic feelings, all seventy-four respondents agreed that Lithuanians were more culture-rich than Americans. In answer to "Christmas wafers" question 17, the three with Lithuanian mothers indicated "always" while the fourth with a Lithuanian grandmother indicated "never." An absence of religious ethnic tradition not only suggested the importance of the maternal element in the family but also strengthened the position that assimilation of the first wave immigration was hastened by the absence of ethnic traditions. The

desire to marry a "Lithuanian-speaking" individual, however, ranged from 3 to 5 on a scale of 1 to 7, with only one scout (with a Lithuanian mother) indicating a high desire (1). Incidentally, she marked "not applicable" for information on her father other than indicating him as non-Lithuanian. Of the four, she was the only one to indicate "fiercely" for parent interest in dating patterns, while the other three indicated "no interest."

Functioning as a subsociety, the "closely knit scout family has been one of the mainstays of the Lithuanian community."[313] Statistical data supplied by the questionnaire, however, indicated a weakening of language and, consequently, a weakening of this community. Director of press and information for the scouts Robertas Vitas substantiated the findings of the survey regarding language erosion:

> There is currently a language controversy in the Scouts that had been created by those weak in Lithuanian. At present there is no separate provision for English speakers so that scoutmasters deal with the problem in their own way.[314]

Less academic in orientation, the Lithuanian Scouts were able to integrate first wave and second wave scouts from mixed marriages into their ranks without setting up a separate English program. The questionnaire directly related the erosion of language to the maternal influence or the lack of it within the family. It also indicated a direct correlation between the importance and strength of language and the educational background of the maternal factor. A strong ethnocentric presence within the highly social scouts was not interpreted as evidence for diaspora Lithuanianism, with language as its foundation. Without the conscious will to preserve a diaspora community along the lines of the Lithuanian Charter, the scouts became an open community with heightened ethnocentric feelings characteristic of an ethnic group rather than a diaspora national minority.

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[313]Vitas, *Lithuanian Scouting*, p. 9.

[314]Interview with Robertas Vitas, February 12, 1985.

THE WORLD LITHUANIAN COMMUNITY IN THE UNITED STATES

As organized camp life gave way to U.S. emigration, World Lithuanian Community (PLB) ideas followed quickly so that April 15, 1951 saw the formation of the American Lithuanian Community Temporary Organizational Committee (*Amerikos Lietuviu Bendruomenes Laikinasis Organizacinis Komitetas* or LOK). During the Lithuanian American Council Congress, held November 16-17, 1951 in New York City, agreement was reached on the formation of the United States of America Lithuanian Community (*Jungtines Valstybes Lietuviu Bendruomene* or JAVLB), for the specific purpose of ". . . caring for Lithuanian cultural upbringing, preservation of Lithuanianism and all Lithuanian educational matters."[315] The LAC was to remain the political arm with support guaranteed from the JAVLB. The birth of the JAVLB and its acceptance of the Lithuanian Charter occurred the following day, November 18, 1951, at the Statler Hotel in New York City, followed by its incorporation, on February 15, 1952, in Hartford, Connecticut, under state registration number 33840.[316] Between 1952 and 1955, sixty Lithuanian Community (LB) chapters across the country joined to form the JAVLB.

Besides the formation of the JAVLB in the United States, the PLB established subsidiaries in eighteen other countries (Argentina, Saudi Arabia, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Great Britain, Italy, Canada, Columbia, New Zealand, Holland, France, Switzerland, Sweden, Uruguay, Venezuela, and West Germany).[317] Each of the LB subsidiaries bore the name of their respective country as, for example, JAVLB. Through the Congress (the governing body of the PLB, held every five years), an authorized number of delegates from each of the nineteen member countries elected officers to the Executive Committee that, in turn, charted their course for the next five years by voting on the recommendations of the planning committees in areas of

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[315]Simutis, *Amerikos Lietuviu Taryba*, p. 148.

[316]Raugas, *JAV-LB trys desimtmeciai*, p. 15.

[317]Bronius Nainys, *II Pasaulio Lietuviu Dienos* (Chicago: Draugas Press, 1983), p. 55.

education, culture, politics and organization, and youth.[318] Each LB formed educational councils which created Saturday or weekend schools that were responsible for the establishment of a diaspora by nurturing the Lithuanian language and its history, literature, art, music and customs as mandated by the Lithuanian Charter. In addition to learning centers, the LB of each country had the responsibility to either organize or, in some way, contribute to the support of cultural activities, which included publications written, edited, and published in the Lithuanian language.[319]

In 1955, one year after the Plateris study, the *Chicago Lithuanian Annual Record (Chicagos Lietuviu Metrastis),* began compiling information about organizations and services within Chicago's Lithuanian community. It described the LAC as an organization ". . .to unite all democratic-minded Lithuanians to fight for Lithuanian independence, basic human rights and the Atlantic Charter. . . ."[320] The same publication also introduced the PLB as an organization primarily interested in ". . . preserv[ing] Lithuanianism, maintain[ing] brotherly ties with Lithuanians beyond America's borders, support[ing] the fight for Lithuanian independence. . . ."[321] The areas of responsibility appeared clearly drawn. The JAVLB saw itself as a cultural and educational organization stressing the preservation of Lithuanianism within the United States. At the same time, it actively supported the LAC as a political action organization striving for basic human rights.

From 1951 to 1967, both organizations—the JAVLB and LAC—worked in their respective areas. During this period, the JAVLB built the foundation for the diaspora—the schools: ". . . 38-43 working elementary schools, three high schools and eleven kindergartens. . . . Saturday School attendance totaled between 3,113

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[318]Nainys, *II Pasaulio Lietuviu Dienos,* p. 55.

[319]Nainys, *II Pasaulio Lietuviu Dienos,* p. 55.

[320]Vilainis and Sidlauskas, *Chicagos Lietuviu Metrastis,* p. 95.

[321]Vilainis and Sidlauskas, *Chicagos Lietuviu Metrastis,* p. 95.

and 3,217 students taught by 307-325 teachers . . . ."[322] At the same time, the LAC achieved its last major political accomplishment. Through its lobbying efforts, it succeeded in passing House Resolution 346, on August 27, 1953, to form a "Select Committee of the House of Representatives of the Eighty-Third Congress to Investigate Forced Incorporation of the Baltic States into the U.S.S.R."[323]—the result of a March 26, 1953, meeting between the LAC and President Dwight D. Eisenhower. Then vice president of LAC, Anthony Olis engineered the last landmark accomplishment in the American political arena.

By the mid 1960s, however, a question of jurisdiction and legitimacy arose within Chicago's Lithuanian community. Contributing to the friction between the two groups was the fact that by the late 1950s and early 1960s, the LAC became a stronghold of second wave emigré political factions that did not fit in with either JAVLB or *Ateitis* ideology. At the same time, the LAC experienced an internal conflict between its first wave members and the new arrivals which culminated, in 1967, with the election of second wave nationalist *(Tautininkas)* Eugenijus A. Bartkus, a civil engineer who had reentered his profession.

In recalling the struggle leading to his election, Bartkus saw "Judge Alphonse Wells wanting to maintain the old crowd by leading a faction to elect Pijus Grigaitis."[324] In an interview, Judge Wells confirmed that originally he championed the election of the aged Grigaitis because of his leadership ability in coalition politics. But when

> . . . the stalemate could not be broken, violent arguments ensued. Someone suggested that I replace Grigaitis as a candidate for president. This was done but the result was the same—total stalemate by

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[322]Bronius Nainys, "Penktoji," *Pasaulio Lietuvis*, 35 (November 1977), p. 942.

[323]"House Baltic Committee," *Encyclopedia Lituanica* II (South Boston, Massachusetts: Lituanica Press, 1972) 5: 437-40.

[324]Interview with Eugenijus A. Bartkus, February 22, 1985.

> factional fighting, which made compromise impossible.[325]

Though Wells admired the incoming young DPs for their educational background, he viewed their factional politics as a destructive force within the LAC. Himself a product of American coalition politics within Chicago's Democratic Party, he found their unwillingness to compromise and work as a group for the same goals totally incomprehensible.

Stanley Balzekas, Jr., member of the Board of Directors on the LAC, reinforced Wells' view when he noted that

> The Lithuanian-American Council has been almost completely taken over by the DPs who do not understand American politics and its coalition emphasis. The DPs are involved in a struggle among themselves. Since there is no longer a Lithuanian-American political base, the reality is that our ethnic group is no longer active in American politics.[326]

Realizing that the LAC was no longer coalition-oriented, Wells broke the stalemate by resigning. His resignation cost the LAC not only an experienced coalition politician but also influential and powerful connections.

A second contributing factor to the unrest between the two factions was that, by 1967, the JAVLB also had experienced conflict that ended in its takeover by the *Frontininkai* (Lithuanian Front), the militant faction in the *Ateitis* movement. The takeover culminated in the election of *Frontininkas* Bronius Nainys. Significantly, the two takeovers by historic rivals created further unrest within the Lithuanian Community in that it locked the *Tautininkai*-dominated LAC into conflict with the *Frontininkai* -ominated JAVLB.

The LAC's ineffectiveness as a political organization, due to its unfamiliarity with American coalition politics, ultimately opened the door for the JAVLB, in 1971, to formally enter political activity for the

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[325]Interview with Alfonse Wells, February 22, 1985.

[326]Interview with Stanley Balzekas, Jr., September 10, 1983.

freeing Lithuania. Under the leadership of Bronius Nainys, the JAVLB used Point 6 in the Lithuanian Charter, which states that "Through work, education, resources and sacrifice, a Lithuanian fights to defend and maintain an independent Lithuanian state,"[327] in order to justify its decision to enter politics. Because the charter makes no reference to political action on a group level, the JAVLB declaration not only violated its 1951 agreement with the LAC but also undermined VLIK's position as well as its original intentions for the PLB—the maintenance of a diaspora as expressed in the Lithuanian Charter. Ironically, when the LAC suggested that the JAVLB become one of its organizations, JAVLB Secretary Kazys Barzdukas rejected the offer on the grounds that it would violate the Lithuanian Charter.[328]

The JAVLB's entrance into politics further compounded the problem in that it created a factional struggle—characteristic of Lithuanian and not American politics—which rendered the LAC politically impotent in terms of representing the diaspora as well. Consequently, under control of second wave Lithuanians, the LAC not only became ideologically isolated from Lithuanian-American ethnics but also from those with a Lithuanian national orientation. Entry into the American political arena for the purpose of championing Lithuania, while voiced as a desired goal by JAVLB prime mover Bronius Nainys, did not occur. In addition, the factional struggle between the LAC and JAVLB retarded meaningful political activity. While "fighting for the liberation of Lithuania," the two groups grappled with each other in trying to outdo one another by the number of photographs taken with American political personalities. Neither faction served as an entry point into American politics beyond the scope of presenting petitions to the powers that be, since their conception of politics was tied to what might be called immigrant generation politics.

The JAVLB's violation of the charter also created problems within its internal structure. The entry of the JAVLB into American politics caused approximately three hundred of its Chicago and Cicero

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[327]Raugas, *JAVLB trys desimtmeciai*, p. 13.

[328]Ausra Maciulaityte-Zerr, "Kodel ALTA ir bendruomene nesutaria?" *Pasaulio Lietuvis* 5 (May 1979), 14.

members, under the leadership of Andrius Juskevicius, to withdraw and reform in 1974, under the name Reorganized Lithuanian Community (*Reorganizuota Lietuviu Bendruomene* or RLB). Referring to the thirteen points of the Lithuanian Charter, the RLB held that the JAVLB's sole task in the diaspora was to work for Lithuanian language and culture. According to Antanas Pleskys, one of the founders of the RLB,

> *Bendruomene* was created for culture only. *Bendruomene* leadership in the U.S. [*sic*] are patriotic Lithuanians; however, politically they are naive. They have no experience in politics. The LAC started political action to free Lithuania in 1940 and in 1951 the LAC and *Bendrùomene* agreed to LAC's political action orientation and *Bendruomene*'s cultural task. We, the RLB, defend and support the LAC.[329]

Tautininkas Vytautas Dargys, president of the RLB and *Sandara* representative to the LAC, saw the JAVLB's action as a violation of the charter. He also viewed the entry into American politics as weakening the diaspora in that it siphoned funds and energetic leaders away from cultural tasks.[330] Though the RLB's arguments against the JAVLB's actions were consistent with the diaspora charter, they did not express an understanding of the consequences of JAVLB members' actions in terms of either American politics or assimilationist dynamics.

By 1980, the Lithuanian Community saw one of its own succeed in mainstream American politics. One of the most visible positions in the Reagan administration, that of Assistant Director of Ethnic Affairs at the White House, was held by the young *Ateitininkas* Linas Kojelis. A frequent visitor to Chicago's Lithuanian Community, Kojelis used the Lithuanian-American Republican organization as a base to attract *Ateitis* and JAVLB members into American politics and into the Republican Party. In an interview for the *World Lithuanian Magazine (Pasaulio Lietuvis)*, he explained his position as that of

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[329]Interview with Antanas Pleskys, February 15, 1985.

[330]Interview with Vytautas Dargys, February 14, 1985.

> . . .try [ing] to bring national groups closer with the present administration. . . . my responsibilities do not include Jews, Blacks, or Americans of Hispanic descent. . . . My area encompasses all other national minorities. Until recently they were largely forgotten or ignored. Added all together, they have potential power. . . .[331]

Kojelis' thoughts not only were out of harmony with the national individuality ideology, as expressed by the *Ateitis* ideologue Stasys Salkauskis, but also countermanded the Lithuanian Charter, as formulated by Mykolas Krupavicius. Kojelis' statement, on a subtle level, reflected a change in the style of thinking since it enumerated Lithuanians as an ethnic group instead of a diaspora community. In warning the diaspora of political involvement with the host society, Krupavicius referred to the dynamics of assimilation via the political arena:

> VLIK did not only concern itself with political questions. Of prime importance was and is the maintenance of Lithuanianism and the raising and fostering of Lithuanian culture. For that reason it created the World Lithuanian Community—PLB, which will have to play a very important part in the cultural life of the Lithuanian diaspora if it does not create obstacles to prevent its successful role and does not stray from fundamental guidelines determined by VLIK. For it [the PLB] the greatest danger would be to bring in politics. Its only purpose—national culture.[332]

Political activities of second wave Lithuanians had a direct resemblance to the observations that Edward R. Kantowicz made

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[331]"Lietuvis Baltuosiuose Rumuose," *Pasaulio Lietuvis* (June 1983), 22.

[332]Krupavicius, *Lietuviskoji iseivija*, p. 42.

about Polish immigrants of Chicago.[333] Like the Poles, after the Lithuanians established the basic social structure of their community, they became involved in three different kinds of political activities: political activities through the LAC aimed at liberating Lithuania, factional struggles within the JAVLB and LAC as well as between the two organizations over political representation, and total ethnic involvement in American politics.

The PLB Congress, held June 26-30, 1983, in Chicago's Lithuanian Youth Center, revealed several interesting developments in the areas of politics and culture. First, the PLB planned to continue its commitment of 1967 to enter politics by recommending the establishment of a commission to oversee political interests. Second, while it stressed the importance of teaching language to children, the Congress ironically recommended financial backing of, and increased input by the Lithuanian World Youth Association (PLJS), a group that had decided not to require use of the Lithuanian language by its membership. Another point of departure from the Lithuanian Charter was the PLB's stress on and support of the Lithuanian word, when it began printing *Bridges*, a monthly newsletter in English.

The PLB's interest in politics, its acceptance and financial backing of the PLJS, and its endeavors at publishing an English newsletter did not fit in with the original guidelines of the charter as drawn up by VLIK in 1948. Non-adherence to its own charter changed the essence of the word "community" and brought the Tönniesian community a step closer toward reorientation as an ethnic group within American society. By entering politics, the JAVLB had taken its first step away from a legitimate diaspora and had begun moving toward status as an ethnic group because interest shifted to a new area of concerns not present along lines of a closed community as characterized by the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies.

On a philosophical level, the LAC-JAVLB struggle negated the concept of an historical mission that Maceina assigned to diaspora Lithuanians. The JAVLB, on another level, not only violated its charter but also did not recognize the consequences that the violation entailed for the well-being of "community." In the process of entering American politics, it shifted a portion of its resources and, more

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[333]Edward R. Kantowicz, *Polish-American Politics in Chicago: 1888-1940* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 38.

importantly, the talents of its most able leaders out of the diaspora community. By focusing on politics as an area of prime importance, it created conditions for future leaders of the "community" to rank high upon their political involvement in mainstream America. When the hard-core linguistic nationalists, who feared entry into host country politics, withdrew from the JAVLB to form their own reorganized *Bendruomene,* they created conditions that accelerated the assimilation process.

THE WORLD LITHUANIAN COMMUNITY FOUNDATION

The years that followed the establishment of the PLB were productive in terms of diaspora life. Between 1952 and 1960, the Lithuanian community engaged in the formation of organizations, the creation of a Saturday or weekend school system, as well as numerous social activities for the purpose of fostering language and culture. The financial backing for all diaspora activities and projects were dependent on individual contributions and fundraisers until the establishment of the Lithuanian Foundation.

The idea of a foundation came about in an interesting way. Dr. Antanas Razma, writing in *Draugas* on December 8, 1960, proposed a million-dollar Lithuanian Foundation based in Chicago to serve as a financial anchor to preserve the language and culture in its American environment. He felt that only a financially strong diaspora community could survive. Son of a farmer from Plunge in Samogitia, Razma credited his patriotism to his *gymnasium* experience (1936-1942), where he became ". . . a member of the underground *Ateitininkai* . . . who inscribed in my soul the Lithuanian principles and love of my country, Lithuania."[334] Upon emigration, Razma finished his internship, passed the State Medical Examination, and set up practice sixty miles outside of Chicago, where he and his wife became isolated from the Lithuanian community and its activities. The overwhelming feeling of isolation, in terms of his country and its heritage, prompted the physician to devise a means by which he could be a part of Lithuanian activities in spite of distance:

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[334]Letter written by Antanas Razma to author, dated May 15, 1983.

> While working among Americans, I was informed that there were many different funds which help to support schools, universities, organizations . . . and with that idea the thought was born to create a million dollar fund which would help Lithuanianism . . . . My thought also included those who lived outside Chicago and those far from Lithuanian centers who would, in a way, be able to make their contributions to Lithuanianism.[335]

Razma's call roused ninety-eight enthusiastic supporters who pooled together a pledge of $44,505.33.[336]

Razma recalled that his private initiative had originally aroused some opposition within the JAVLB. Because there were no ideological differences, however, six months of discussion followed with a merger. Razma, along with his friend, attorney Algimantas Kezelis, drew up the regulations for a PLB-controlled million-dollar fund. A formal union between Razma's group and the PLB took place in New York City, on September 2-3, 1961, where he turned over $44,505 in pledges, along with another $20,000 in cash donations.[337]

The organizational structure of the Lithuanian Foundation (LF) consisted "of an eighteen member board of directors, one-third of which is elected at each annual meeting for a three-year term." The appointment of members to the executive committee and the "various special-task committees" became the responsibility of the board of directors. The grants committee, made up of three directors of the LF and three members of the JAVLB, became one of the most important special-task committees in terms of responsibility to allocate funds "to the various Lithuanian organizations and activities."[338] In the period

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[335]Letter written by Antanas Razma to author, dated May 15, 1983.

[336]Petras Zelvys, ed., "Lietuviu Fondas 1981 dvidesimties metu sukakties finansine apyskaita," unpublished documents in Lithuanian Foundation files, p. 23.

[337]Raugas, *JAVLB trys desimtmeciai*, p. 36.

[338]"Lithuanian Foundation, Inc." (Brochure, 1983).

between its registration on March 14, 1962, under certificate number 17755 as a non-profit organization, and 1975, the LF financial profile grew to well over one million dollars. Exemptions from federal income taxes, on December 7, 1964, and permission to expand activities while retaining that exemption, on May 16, 1972, greatly aided the LF in amassing its first million.[339]

Since its 1975 financial profile, the LF expanded investment of contributions. In addition to financial institutions, the LF invested in government issues, stocks, corporate bonds and real estate. In 1984, for example, investment into corporate bonds alone yielded a book value of $506,325, while the investment portfolio dealing with corporate securities, first mortgage bonds, and preferred and common stock, along with seven major banking house investments, had a total book value of $2,873,277 with additional dividends and profits of $595,182.[340]

Creation of the LF assured the diaspora community firm financial support of its educational, cultural and organizational activities. A stress on preservation of Lithuanianism in the diaspora appeared in its dispersement of funds from 1962 to 1981, with monies going to Saturday Schools, educational funds, publications, cultural projects, awards, scholarships, and other diaspora-oriented activities.[341] By 1984, the total allocated to cultural, educational, and other organizational diaspora activities had reached $1,356,586, with the 1984 allocation alone totaling $165,000.[342] Significantly, educational matters received the greater portion of the 1984 allocation—$95,000.[343] As of December 31, 1984, the LF had reached $3,102,300—with a goal of ten million dollars by the end of the 1980s. Contributions made the LF possible. "Any individual, group or organization may become a member of the LF" by a

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[339]Zelvys, "Lietuviu Fondas 1981," p, 53.

[340]Stasys Baras and Antanas Razma, M.D., *Lithuanian Foundation Newsletter* (February 21, 1985), p. 2.

[341]Zelvys, "Lietuviu Fondas 1981," p. 53.

[342]Baras and Razma, *Lithuanian Foundation Newsletter*, p. 3.

[343]Baras and Razma, *Lithuanian Foundation Newsletter*, p. 3.

contribution of "$100 or more." Contributors "with larger donations may stipulate to which purpose" they should be used. As of the end of 1984, the LF had 5,560 members.[344] LF growth, profits, and disbursements are given in table 6.

The first wave, which gravitated to the *bendroves* leading to the savings and loan associations and the Lithuanian Chamber of Commerce in Chicago, became rooted into American society through home ownership and economic intercourse beyond the confines of the ethnic group. In contrast, the LF did not function along the lines of a mutual self-help immigrant aid society. Its original purpose, in 1960, was to preserve a parallel language and culture among an ethnically and linguistically conscious elite transplanted on American soil in large enough numbers to function as a subculture.

Until the American experience, the conditions for individualization did not exist for Lithuanians. Lithuanians merged themselves into and became a part of a group in order to gain a personal identity through that group. As noted earlier, Lithuanians educated as Poles experienced a "religious" conversion to Lithuanianism through its language, dedicating self to that linguistic (group) cause. The same dynamic operated for Lithuanians educated in Russian circles, who used their education to work toward a goal when the linguistic group could function without Polish or Russian overlords. Because all energy was harnessed toward group improvement and not self improvement, there was no room for individual pride. Renaissance leaders, such as Basanavicius or Kudirka, emphasized a "we" dynamic cemented by language, culture, and fear of physical assimilation. *Ateitininkas* Razma created the LF as a result of that same "we" concept.

Aiming at preserving a collective identify among Lithuanians conscious of living in a diaspora, the LF had its roots in the Lithuanian charter and its linguistic and cultural nationalism. Just as the charter translated linguistic and cultural nationalism into tribal dynamics, the LF had a built-in emphasis on the collective at the expense of the individual. It was this collective norm, also prevalent in Salkauskian ideology, that not only prompted *Ateitininkas* Razma to conceptualize the idea for an LF but also prompted other Lithuanians to join in

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[344]Baras and Razma, *Lithuanian Foundation Newsletter*, p. 3.

building it. The following LF statement not only revealed a key means of fundraising but also explained their philosophy:

> As blood supports life, so the capital accumulated by the Foundation's membership is working to maintain existence. . . . [A] person may bequeath his property and money by his Last Will and Testament for the Lithuanian Foundation. . . .[345]

In the final analysis, the LF became a vehicle through which a Lithuanian, as expressed in Point 2 of the charter, "passes on the essence of national culture, kept alive by his ancestors, to future generations in order to preserve Lithuanianism." Furthermore, the philosophy of the ideologue Salkauskis could be seen in the LF's statement of purpose:

> All members of the Lithuanian Foundation, whether they are deceased or living, aid in the continuation of Lithuanian tradition . . . ethnic survival and [Lithuanian] national freedom.[346]

Thus, a system existed to strengthen the LF financial power and its ability to aid Lithuanianism. As the actual numbers of the exile generation thinned with the passage of years, the dead were then enrolled in the quest for a strong diaspora through a stress on last wills and testaments—resulting in a lifeline between the living and the dead (table 7).

Because the LAC and the Lithuanian Chamber of Commerce had neither institutional nor ideological ties to the charter, the gap between the first and second waves widened. At the same time, the establishment of the LF as a second fund, by the *Ateitis* faction within the JAVLB, resulted in a polarization within the Lithuanian community. Since it clashed with VLIK's already existent National Fund *(Tautos Fondas)* aimed at diaspora activities, it split the original

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[345]"Lithuanian Foundation, Inc." (Brochure, 1975), p. 3.

[346]Lithuanian Foundation, Inc. (Brochure, 1975), p. 3.

coalition between VLIK and the PLB. Furthermore, the domination of the *Ateitis* members determined a largely Roman Catholic orientation for the PLB, causing the final alienation of non-clerical elements within VLIK. Ultimately, the incorporation of the philosophy of Stasys Salkauskis ideologically wedded the JAVLB and, in turn, the PLB more strongly to the *Ateitis* Federation.

THE WORLD LITHUANIAN YOUTH ASSOCIATION

In 1966, the World Lithuanian Community central executive committee organized the first World Youth Congress in order to more actively include the young adults of the exiles in diaspora life. In accordance with the central executive council's authorization of youth congresses to be held every five years, a second World Youth Congress met at Kent State University in the summer of 1972 when a new development unforeseen by the PLB leadership took place—an ideological shift from the diaspora-minded Lithuanian Charter and toward a redefinition of Lithuanians as an ethnic group. This ideological shift becomes comprehensible when one considers the fact that Howard F. Stein and Robert F. Hill, in their book *The Ethnic Imperative*, identified Kent State University as an organizational base for the white ethnic movement. In addition, the university offered an Ethnic Heritage major within an ethnic studies program.[347] Within this context and its acquisition of a Lithuanian book collection, Kent State attracted a number of Lithuanians, among those being the participants in the Second World Youth Congress.

By resolution, the Second World Youth Congress established the World Lithuanian Youth Association (PLJS), thereby creating an organization parallel to the PLB. Chicagoans Mindaugas Pleskys, Romas Sakadolskis and Saulius Kuprys were among the participants who ". . . determined that it was time for youth of Lithuanian origin to formally organize. . . ."[348] The participants felt that there was no room for them in the middle age-to older-dominated PLB and that a

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[347]Howard F. Stein and Robert F. Hill, *The Ethnic Imperative: Examining the New White Ethnic Movement* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977), p. 194.

[348]"Pasaulio Lietuviu Jaunimo Sajunga," (Booklet published by World Lithuanian Youth Association, 1980), p. 1.

new approach should be taken to draw in more people and widen the youth base,[349] thereby encompassing "all young adults of Lithuanian origin between the ages of sixteen and thirty" (extended to thirty-five since then) living in the Western World.[350] According to Romas Sakadolskis, twenty-five at the time, the group did not consult the PLB executive committee, because it feared rejection before any concrete action could be taken.[351] Because no clear lines of communication were established with the PLB, the new organization had freedom of decision.

To coordinate communications between widely dispersed Lithuanian youth, the PLJS created the Communications Center *(Rysiu Centras)*, in 1972, an organization without any ties to the PLJS and with quarters in the Society of Jesus (Jesuit) administered Lithuanian Youth Center in Chicago. Its second director, Mindaugas Pleskys, though technically too old by one year to be a member in the sixteen- to thirty-year-old age limitations, assumed the post because "youth lacked experience and needed guidance."[352] According to Pleskys, the Communications Center kept tabs on information in different regions and countries that had elected PLJS directors and handled all communications for the PLJS. In a 1983 PLJS information booklet, the center claimed that it "gathers statistics and information of a demographic and sociological nature about Lithuanian youth throughout the world,"[353] with "listings of key people of Lithuanian origin in various educational and professional fields . . . willing to assist and advise students and to establish professional ties."[354]

Of interest, however, was the fact that the Communications Center's 1983 director, Rita Dapkus, formed a new political action

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[349]Interview with Mindaugas Pleskys, February 26, 1985.

[350]Interview with Antanas S. J. Saulaitis, February 22, 1985.

[351]Interview with Romas Sakadolskis, February 24, 1985.

[352]Pleskys interview, February 26, 1985.

[353]"Pasaulio Lietuviu Jaunimo Sajunga," p. 4.

[354]"Pasaulio Lietuviu Jaunimo Sajunga," p. 7.

organization in March of that year which, like the PLJS, had no ties to either the Communications Center or the PLJS though it drew its supporters from the PLJS.[355] Named "Young Americans for Human Rights," the organization intended to draw ethnic youth from not only Lithuanians but also from Ukrainians, Latvians, Estonians and other East Europeans in Chicago and across the United States—a step toward civic assimilation.

By virtue of its independent line, the PLJS also created an annual two-week seminar for young Lithuanians, held at Loyola of the Lakes Jesuit Retreat House in Ohio.[356] Relinquishing his post with the Communications Center, Pleskys served as the seminar's program director. The Communications Center's policy of keeping tabs on Lithuanians provided the seminar with an annual cycle of thirty "actively ethnic intellectual" Lithuanians in the process of becoming ". . . the cultural historian of the group, the theologian, the communal leader, the apologist, the scholar of its art, its music, and its literature."[357] The purpose of the seminar did not seem clear in that the PLJS did not require its membership to be fluent in Lithuanian and the seminar participants from South America, according to Jesuit instructor Juozas Vaisnys, were often very weak in the Lithuanian language while those from the United States were strongest. Active ethnics who contributed to the seminar included Professor Rimvydas Silbajoris, specialist in Lithuanian and Russian literature from Ohio State University; Violeta Kelertas, specialist in Lithuanian language and literature and assistant professor of Lithuanian Studies in the Department of Slavic and Baltic Languages at the University of Illinois at Chicago; University of Chicago philosophy graduate Mykolas Drunga (an editor of *Draugas* and *The Observer*; and philologist Antanas Klimas of the University of Rochester (an examiner at Kent State University) who taught Lithuanian language and history.[358]

At the inception of the "grass roots movement" that became the PLJS, a Brazilian-Lithuanian requested that the Lithuanian

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[355]Interview with Rita Dapkus, February 27, 1985.

[356]Pleskys interview, February 26, 1985.

[357]Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, p. 228.

[358]Interview with Juozas S. J. Vaisnys, February 28, 1985.

language be eliminated as a requirement for membership. Society of Jesus Father Antanas Saulaitis strongly backed the request. A Boston college graduate who had been in South America since 1970, Saulaitis arrived at the Second World Youth Congress in Kent as president of a Lithuanian youth organization he founded in Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina—its membership derived from both Lithuanian and non-Lithuanian speakers who shared a common ethnic background. Saulaitis stressed that all youth of Lithuanian heritage should have equal access to Lithuanian culture through a Lithuanian world youth organization.[359] His view on language prevailed; it was also felt that the new approach would draw more members into the PLJS.

Before returning to his Jesuit duties in South America, Saulaitis became the first president of the PLJS. Transferred to Chicago to administer the Lithuanian Youth Center in 1977, Saulaitis explained the revised definition of a Lithuanian as

> . . . a person of Lithuanian descent who actually assumes at least a part of his or her heritage and is concerned for the future of Lithuania; if he or she is one-half or one-eighth, he or she is still a Lithuanian, even if he or she does not know the language.[360]

Saulaitis did not see the PLJS as an ideological organization; rather, he saw its purpose as that of drawing in as many descendants of Lithuanians as possible. Thus, an ethnic heritage concept replaced the ideological concept of "language as the homeland of Lithuanians."

Alarmed by the PLJS decision to downgrade language, the older PLB leadership attempted to change its focus during a meeting held in the fall of 1980 in Chicago. Kazys Barzdukas, former secretary of the Lithuanian Foundation, and several members of the older generation leadership told the "Saulaitis-Sakadolskis faction" that the Lithuanian language was a historic weapon to fend off submersion

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[359]Saulaitis interview, February 22, 1985.

[360]Saulaitis interview, February 22, 1985.

and assimilation into surrounding peoples and asked that the PLJS reconsider its official policy on language.[361] Barzdukas recalled that the young leaders remained firm and that his group did not press for a change in policy. They simply did not bring up the topic again. Substantiating Barzdukas, Sakadolskis said that the PLB questioned PLJS activities but never challenged them. However, he added that the then PLB president Stasys Barzdukas (brother of former), "conceded that Lithuanian language proficiency by all Lithuanian youth in the PLJS was indeed unrealistic."[362] The concept of a linguistically closed community in order to nurture a Reserve Lithuania appeared to be important only to the aging PLB members who had worked with Krupavicius until his death in Chicago, in 1970. Ideologically alienated from the PLB, the PLJS became, in effect, "a third *bendruomene*."

By accepting Saulaitis' view of equal access to Lithuanian culture by youth of Lithuanian heritage, the organization maintained a position outside the confines of the Lithuanian Charter. With a stress on "a person of Lithuanian descent," the root definition of nationality shifted from a linguistic *corpus mysticum* and opened the door to non-Lithuanian thought. Arthur Mann, in *Immigrants in American Life*, selected a reading by Emily Greene Balch, a specialist in East European immigration studies who observed that "Language wields an influence beyond all calculation, and language has tended to keep the country open to English thought, and comparatively inaccessible to other outside currents. . . ."[363] She, therefore, concluded that

> In spite of . . . belief that America is not a nation, it has in truth the deepest right to consider itself such. It is an organic whole, intersensitive through all its parts, colored by one tradition and . . . by one

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[361]Interview with Kazys Barzdukas, March 7, 1985.

[362]Sakadolskis interview, February 24, 1985.

[363]Arthur Mann, ed., *Immigrants in American Life: Selected Readings* (Geneva, Illinois: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974), p. 178.

> conception of the country's mission and of the means—liberty, enlightenment and prosperity—by which that mission is to be accomplished.[364]

This orientation on non-requirement of Lithuanian and the injection of individual rights for those outside the closed community pointed to acculturation. The PLJS' emphasis on ethnic heritage, not linguistic nationalism where national individuality was tied to historical identification through language and culture, ushered in a change in thinking that did not surface until "the maturation of the acculturated" Lithuanians gathered at their 1972 Congress.

The Tönniesian-defined "community," however, never included all in its inception; thus the question, in its Lithuanian context, was not a formulation of the rights of individuals but a question of goals for the Tönniesian community. The social structure of the PLB was originally created to perpetuate the culture of the social groups within it.

> Culture and social structure are obviously closely related and in a constant state of dynamic interaction, for it is the norms and values of the society which, for the most part, determine the nature of the social groupings and social relationships which its members will create; and, conversely, frequently it is through the action of men in social groups that cultures undergo change and modification.[365]

The PLJS' policy of dropping language so as to incorporate non-Lithuanian speakers form South America and elsewhere indicated that intergenerational transmission had been broken since ". . . adoption of the native language is only the most obvious symptom of assimilation of the native culture as a whole."[366] As a social group within the

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[364]Mann, *Selected Readings*, p. 178.

[365]Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, p. 33.

[366]H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denomi-nationalism* (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1970), p. 212.

social structure of the PLB, the PLJS would "man the leadership and organizational posts and . . . form an intermediate group between the dwindling . . . [exile] group and the core society. . . ."[367] Thus, it would be in a position to alter the culture of the subsociety—a process begun in 1972. Consequently, Saulaitis and his group did not champion a diaspora nationalism but rather served as intermediaries between the "closed community" of the exile generation and non-Lithuanian speakers with sentimental ties to their heritage.

The thrust to reach non-Lithuanian speaking ethnics, officially initiated by the PLJS in 1972, translated into the JAVLB's 1977 publication of *Bridges*, "Ethnic Heritage Camps" in 1978—utilizing *Ateitis* resources and staff—and finally, on the hundredth anniversary of *Ausra* in 1983, the birth of *The Observer*, an English language newspaper with stress on Roman Catholicism and political action with an ethnic orientation.

THE WORLD LITHUANIAN COMMUNITY SCHOOL SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES

Upon arrival, the second wave initially attempted to establish a diaspora school system within the Lithuanian-American parish schools. Since the Lithuanian-American Roman Catholics did not link Catholicism to the Lithuanian language, conflict developed over curriculum.

Although public schools in Chicago and Cook County granted credit for the Lithuanian language, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago did not. Archdiocesan policy toward ethnic-oriented parishes was best understood in light of the fact that the Roman Catholic Church in America had undergone a degree of acculturation when viewed through its modification from an ethnic-oriented church to one reflecting ". . . the nature of the pervasive social forces emanating from American life and conditions. . . ."[368] In describing the result of

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[367]Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, p. 203.

[368]Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, p. 217.

this modification, Thomas P. Sweetser, in *The Catholic Parish: Shifting Membership in a Changing Church*, wrote that

> . . . American Catholics . . . no longer feel apart from the mainstream of American culture because of their religious affiliation. They are not even sure that being a Catholic is that much different from being a Protestant in today's pluralistic society. . . .[369]

Sweetser viewed these attitudes among the Catholics as an indication that the "ethnic ghetto is a thing of the past," identifying "pockets of ethnic consciousness" as "the most recent arrivals from Eastern Europe to the American scene,"[370] as in the case of Lithuanians.

Although Catholic, the Lithuanians could not use the parish or the parish school as a center of their cultural life because the American version of the same faith did not have the same interests as theirs. Namely, Lithuanian exiles' view of culture and religion as inseparable was an idea that came into conflict with the American Roman Catholic Church, which had developed

> . . . along activist lines corresponding to the American ethos, its fusion with American nationalism in the minds of its adherents, the modification of its traditional and formal position on the desirability of state "establishment" of Catholicism under American conditions, the *de facto* acceptance of . . . the pluralistic nature of American religious life. . . .[371]

Since these dynamics indicate changes in traditional Catholic orientation, they point to the American Roman Catholic Church having undergone a degree of acculturation. In view of these developments, a

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[369]Thomas P. Sweetser, *The Catholic Parish: Shifting Membership in a Changing Church* (Chicago: Center for the Scientific Study of Religion, 1974), p. 80.

[370]Sweetser, *The Catholic Parish*, p. 80.

[371]Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, p. 217.

clash between the newly arrived exiles and the first wave Lithuanians, who were products of the American church, became inevitable.

The ideological differences resulted in both a physical and mental isolation between the two waves. According to Alicija Rugyte, emigré educator and cultural activist as well as *Ateitis* member,

> We were thrown out. In 1952, our students and teachers were kicked out of Immaculate Conception in Brighton Park after three classes. Rev. Urba told them to leave the grounds. In 1953, the Sisters of St. Casimir held a public meeting and declared "either we or they must go from the school grounds of Nativity BVM Parish School in Marquette Park." The following year we were forced out of Holy Cross Parish School in Town of Lake. St. George's in Bridgeport also wanted to throw us out, but our people begged to use the parish school. They allowed us to stay until we built our own place or found alternative accommodations.[372]

Rugyte noted that there were sympathetic individuals within the first wave, such as Maria and Anthony Rudis, who donated $4,000 for a Saturday School system. While the Lithuanian Chamber of Commerce remained mute to requests for financial aid, individual members, like Stanley Balzekas, Sr., and John Brenza, made generous donations.[373] Among the youth to receive a Lithuanian education in that stormy era were University of Chicago mathematics professor Arunas Liulevicius and aerospace engineer Arvydas Kliore.

Since the Roman Catholic Archdiocese neither recognized nor encouraged ethnic education programs, the JAVLB began establishing a diaspora school system outside diocesan control. By 1985, the following JAVLB-maintained schools were in operation in the Chicago metropolitan area:

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[372]Interview with Alicija Rugyte, July 20, 1983.

[373]Rugyte interview, July 20, 1983.

Pre-School—Lithuanian Montessori Society of America in the Marquette Park area of Chicago and in Lemont, Illinois.

Elementary and High School—Darius and Girenas at the Lithuanian Youth Center in Gage Park; Kristijonas Donelaitis at Francis McKay Public School in Marquette Park; and Maironis School in Lemont, Illinois.

Post-Secondary Education—Lithuanian Institute of Education at the Lithuanian Youth Center providing teacher training for the Saturday School system.

The only Chicago schools not under control of the JAVLB and who offered Lithuanian language classes were two elementary schools staffed by first wave Sisters of St. Casimir: Brighton Park Daily, affiliated with Immaculate Conception Parish, and Marquette Park Daily, affiliated with the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Lithuanian-founded Maria High School no longer had a formal Lithuanian education program; however, it had a club called "Circle of Rue," which functioned as an extracurricular social organization for the school's American-born Lithuanian students.

During a May 1, 1983, meeting with the leaders of the JAVLB held in Chicago, Jonas Kavaliunas, national director of the Lithuanian Educational Council *(Lietuviu Svietimas)*, released statistical data on Saturday School enrollment. Kavaliunas told his Chicago audience, that in 1967, Lithuanian schools had 3,223 students. By 1972, the figure had dropped to 2,718 students in 27 schools. According to Kavaliunas, the reduction over the years was uneven. From 1967 to 1975, yearly losses were approximately 3.9 percent per year while, from 1976 to 1980, it averaged about 7.4 percent per year. The greatest losses occurred in 1976 with 12.9 percent, followed by 10.6 percent in 1977 and 13.2 percent in 1980. Between 1981 and 1982, however, statistics indicated that enrollment had stabilized. For example, in 1981, the total dropped 1.5 percent or 22 students, while the 1982 rate was 2.9 percent or 42 students, with a total of 1,432 students enrolled in 27 schools that had been in operation for over

thirty years.[374] In order to study the degree of commitment to diaspora Lithuanianism by the surviving school population, thirteen- to seventeen-year-olds at Kristijonas Donelaitis, Darius and Girenas, and Maironis schools were given a questionnaire, in 1983 (table 5).

The Kristijonas Donelaitis School

The largest of the JAVLB-operated schools in Chicago, the Kristijonas Donelaitis School—kindergarten through high school—opened its doors on October 17, 1959. First sheltered in Marquette Park's Lithuanian Evangelical Lutheran Home Church, the school started out with thirty students. When enrollment reached one hundred, three years later, the school transferred to the Marquette Park Fieldhouse basement with the overflow going back to the church.

Having been denied the use of nearby Francis McKay Elementary School by its principal and lower echelon administrators of Chicago's Public School System, then chairman of the Parents Committee, Algis Regis, enlisted the aid of Lithuanian-American Council activist Judge Alphonse Wells. Going directly to the Superintendent of Public Schools, Wells secured Francis McKay Elementary School, located in the heart of the Lithuanian community.[375]

Consul General Josephine Dauzvardis for the Republic of Lithuania verbalized the *corpus mysticum* and bond across time on the fifteenth anniversary of the school, when she said that

> . . . beyond the borders of occupied Lithuania, we founded with love of fatherland—the Lithuanian schools. Kristijonas Donelaitis School is just that kind of example of love of fatherland.[376]

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[374]Jonas Kavaliunas, "Svietimas siuo metu" *Svietimo Gaires* (May 1983), p. 2.

[375]Interview with Algis Regis, March 11, 1985.

[376]Danute Bindokas, Jonas Bagdonas, and Julius Sirka, *Penkiolikmetis Chicagos Tolminkiemyje: 1959-1975* (Chicago: M. Morkunas Press, 1975), p. 5.

The school's namesake, Donelaitis, was a Prussian-Lithuanian Lutheran minister who championed Lithuanian language and literature in a passive resistance to Germanization in the northeastern counties of East Prussia. Donelaitis' words, "Love Lithuania from afar with all your heart, all your feeling," became the motto of the school, appearing on the school's newsletter *Pirmieji Zingsniai (First Steps).* Its first and present director, Julius Sirka, in referring to alumni, students and their parents as "the large Donelaitis family," signified that it was created not only as a school for Lithuanian language and literature but also to nurture a lifelong communal spirit.

In 1983, Donelaitis School had 185 students ranging in ages four to seventeen in a K-12 school system. The curriculum covered Lithuanian history, literature, geography, folk dances and songs in the native language and used standardized PLB textbooks and JAVLB-certified teachers. The staff of twenty-two teachers, ranging in age from twenty=three to fifty-two, had been prepared for teaching by the Lithuanian Pedagogical Institute of Chicago. Director Sirka noted that, during the 1970s, the staff had been dominated by teachers who had lived adult lives in pre-1944 Lithuania and who denounced all things in America as inferior to Lithuania's period of independence. This created tension and loss of interest on the part of many American-born and -raised students, resulting in a communication gap whereby the students verbally clashed with these teachers by not only defending America but also attacking Lithuanianism. The gradual change in staff to American-born teachers with the same bicultural background as the students eliminated the problem.

In spring of 1983, a questionnaire designed to gather empirical data on the offspring of the younger second wave generation was administered to the thirteen- to seventeen-year-old group whose forbearers had been in the United States between thirty-one and thirty-five years. Two teens, who listed 1981 and 1983 as arrival dates, were not included in the data since they were the progeny of recent dissident arrivals and their family history was a product of the national underground movement in Soviet Lithuania.

A study of questionnaire data (table 5) and subsequent conversations with students confirmed the fact that all of the Saturday School students were descendents of the second wave. Mrs. Ona Jagelis, a Lithuanian literature teacher at Donelaitis School and textbook writer for the PLB, pointed out,

> Our children do not have any inferior feelings about being Lithuanian. The children of the first wave were ashamed of being called 'Lugans.' Their parents were greenhorns, black (manual) laborers and factory workers. They tried to hide their Lithuanian origin as part of an inferiority complex. . . . Our children speak Lithuanian without any sense of shame or embarrassment among Americans.[377]

Mrs. Jagelis' statement was tested in question 14, which asked the degree of feeling "uncomfortable speaking Lithuanian in the presence of non-Lithuanians." Given the range of choices from 1 (never) to 7 (always), 44 percent responded "never," another 32 percent marked the lower scale (2 or 3), with 20 percent indicating the middle to upper scales of 4 to 6 and 3 percent "always."

A correlation between the degree of embarrassment and the professional background of the parents existed. The 44 percent who "never" felt comfortable and the 27 percent who marked number 2 on the scale had fathers in prestigious professions. For example, the first group revealed that twenty-six fathers were engineers, three were physicians, three were architects, two were chemists and one was a stockbroker. The mothers likewise came, for the most part, from the professional force. Those who were listed as housewives frequently were indicated to have had a college education. In contrast, the number of white- and blue-collar non-professional parental backgrounds became evident in those who marked numbers 3 and 4 on the scale, with blue collar backgrounds significantly dominating the 3 percent who marked "always" (7), the 6 percent who marked number 6 and the 1 percent who marked 5 on the scale.

Of the 79 students surveyed, 47 percent came from Chicago while the remaining 53 percent came from a wide range of Chicago suburbs. Removal from the "ethnic ghetto" appeared, however, to have been more than just a physical removal. Informal primary friendship groups, propinquity, formal (institutionalized) youth groups, and the ethnocentric value system along with commitment to Lithuanianism seemed to have a direct correlation to that change. Of

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[377]Interview with Ona Jagelis, May 1, 1983.

the 79 respondents, 34 (43 percent) had three Lithuanians as closest friends. Breaking down that number further, 19 of these came from Chicago while 10 came from the close suburbs of Oak Lawn (8) and Burbank (2), with the remaining five from distant suburbs. The degree of commitment to Lithuanianism seemed to be directly affected by propinquity pools, formal youth groups and primary friendship groups. The respondents who marked three Lithuanians as their primary friendship group tended to answer "true" more often to question 18, which tested ethnocentricity. Those with one, two or no Lithuanian friends answered "false" to "Lithuanians are more honest than Americans." Those with one Lithuanian friend or all non-Lithuanian friends tended to answer false to "Lithuanian children have better manners than Americans" and "Lithuanians are more intellectual than Americans." A greater percentage of the 34 with Lithuanian friends not only favored both folk dance groups and youth camps but also preferred "to marry someone who is Lithuanian-speaking." At the same time only two of the same group identified themselves as Lithuanian-American while those with less than three Lithuanian friends marked "Lithuanian-American" (7) and "American" (2) more often. Interestingly enough, 73 of the 79 respondents thought "Lithuanians were more culture-rich"— again the "false" respondents correlated to those without any Lithuanian friends.

Questionnaire data pointed to the fact that the isolation from the Lithuanian ghetto had affected the thinking of second wave American offspring. For example, the high percentage answering "takes no interest" in and "encourage" dating non-Lithuanians (question 11) indicated a breakdown of familial influence on the offspring. Physical and social isolation from other diaspora Lithuanians had become a key factor in Americanizing suburbanites at a faster rate than those more actively engaged in the life of the Chicago Lithuanian community.

The Darius and Girenas School

Internal conflict over curriculum and direction between educators at the Doneiaitis School resulted in the organization of the Darius and Girenas School—named after early 1930s trans-Atlantic air pioneers Steponas Darius and Stasys Girenas. Classes were organized in the basement of Chicago's Gage Park Fieldhouse and, later, the Nightingale Elementary School until completion of the Lithuanian

Youth Center. In 1957, the school moved into regular classrooms under its first director, Jonas Kavaliunas, the former school inspector of the DP school system in Europe and national director of the JAVLB Educational Council.[378]

As in the case of the Donelaitis School, the survey given to students at the Darius and Girenas School (table 5) revealed similar demographic information. Of the 51 students between the ages of thirteen and eighteen, 43 percent resided in Chicago while the greater portion, 57 percent, came from the surrounding suburbs, with one from as far as Beverly Shores, Indiana. The questionnaire indicated that all respondents were American-born offspring of the younger second wave emigrés. Because of its similarity in student makeup to that of the Donelaitis School, the Darius and Girenas questionnaire results reflected the same interrelationships between professional background of parents and degree of embarrassment (question 14) as well as a correlation between informal friendship groups, propinquity, formal (institutionalized) youth groups, and the ethnocentric value system and their commitment to Lithuanianism.

The Maironis School

Located in Lemont's Bromerek School, until its move to the World Lithuanian Center in the fall of 1988, the Maironis School opened its doors for the first time with ten students in the fall of 1978. Named after a poet of the Lithuanian national revival (actual name Jonas Maciulis [1862-1932]), the Maironis School grew to 150 students by the fall of 1983. The growth of the school reflected an accelerating shift from Chicago to the suburbs by young Lithuanian families. Under the direction of Aldona Gasneris, the school's staff consisted of eighteen teachers, most in their twenties and thirties. As products of either the Lithuanian Scouts or the *Ateitis* Federation, as well as members of the JAVLB, the teachers channeled the suburban student body into youth camps and other year-round Lithuanian cultural group activities.

Of the total entrollment, twenty-four students were between the ages of thirteen and seventeen (eight males and sixteen females).

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[378]Interview with Algis Regis, March 11, 1985, and Julius Sirka, May 3, 1989.

These were given a questionnaire in September of 1983 (table 5). Statistical profile of the Maironis students revealed that all twenty-four suburban teenagers were offspring of the younger second wave generation that emigrated between 1948 and 1952.

In contrast to the Chicago-based schools, the Maironis survey brought out the fact that 71 percent to 75 percent of the respondents rated themselves weak in language proficiency (question 3). Keeping this fact in mind, the same students read and/or purchased less Lithuanian books (questions 6 and 7). As for newspapers and magazines (question 9), only 13 percent indicated "often" while 87 percent indicated "rarely" or "never" as to frequency read.

Weaker in language than their counterparts in the Chicago schools, the Maironis students showed other marked differences. When asked if they ever "felt uncomfortable speaking Lithuanian (question 14), 33 percent indicated "never," 34 percent indicated 2 or 3 on a scale of 1 (never) to 7 (always), while the remaining 33 percent marked degrees between 4 and 7. Those who felt uncomfortable came from less homogeneous parental occupation backgrounds. As to whether or not they "want to marry someone who is Lithuanian speaking" (question 15), only 25 percent indicated "definitely yes," 21 percent marked 2 or 3 while 54 percent indicated 4 or 6 on the scale. Their responses seemed to have a direct correlation to the fact that 50 percent of the parents "take no interest" in dating patterns (question 11). Primary friendship groups also had a direct bearing on how strongly the students felt about marrying someone fluent in Lithuanian. For example, only 21 percent had three Lithuanian friends, while 37 percent had two in contrast to 21 percent who had one and another 21 percent who had no Lithuanian friends. The Maironis survey results, when compared to those of students living in the Chicago area, reinforced the fact that physical and social isolation from the Chicago diaspora community contributed greatly to the speed of assimilation.

THE DIASPORA SCHOOLS IN RELATION TO LITHUANIAN SCOUTS

The statistical data for the Lithuanian diaspora schools as well as for the Lithuanian Scouts revealed a relationship between primary

friendship groups, language proficiency, youth groups, and degree of commitment to Lithuanianism.

In determining the effect of physical isolation from the Lithuanian ghetto on the second wave offspring—that is, mobility toward the suburbs—a comparison of statistical data on 59 Chicago residents was made to that of 95 suburban residents attending diaspora schools (table 5). The data revealed a breakdown of diaspora orientation among the suburbanite Lithuanians in various areas. For example, Chicago Lithuanians scored 85 percent and 81 percent fluency in speaking and reading Lithuanian respectively, while the suburban students scored 68 percent and 57 percent (question 3). The survey indicated a rise in those who had learned most of their Lithuanian in Saturday Schools—7 percent in Chicago, 18 percent in the suburbs. The fluency question was also reflected through a drop in frequency in purchase of books by suburban residents as well as a drop in purchase of printed materials, like newspapers and magazines. Primary friendship groups were also affected. For example, 46 percent of the Chicago residents had three Lithuanian friends in comparison to only 31 percent of the suburban residents. Those who had no Lithuanian friends increased from 5 percent in Chicago to 14 percent in the suburbs. A direct relationship between the primary friendship group statistics (question 10) and the organizational structure data (question 12) also existed. A marked drop in involvement of and enthusiasm for Saturday School, folk dance groups, and youth camp was seen among the suburban residents. Further indication of decreasing commitment to diaspora life was seen in the fact that only 25 percent of the suburban residents responded "definitely yes" to marrying "someone who is Lithuanian speaking" in comparison to 42 percent of the Chicago residents. Also unique was the number of suburban Lithuanians who identified themselves as "Lithuanian-American"—17 percent as opposed to 2 percent of the Chicago residents.

Statistics revealed that the Saturday School experience was not enough in maintaining a diaspora. The students who indicated they would send their children to Lithuanian folk dance groups and youth camps, in addition to Saturday School, tended to have more Lithuanian friends, responded more affirmatively to the question of marrying someone Lithuanian speaking and indicated a higher speaking and reading frequency in language. The statistical data for all

three diaspora schools when broken down into the categories of the number of Lithuanian friends, further reinforced the interrelationship between primary friendship groups and commitment to Lithuanianism. Essential to primary friendship groups was the social structure of a diaspora. The statistical data on the Lithuanian Scouts confirm the importance of primary friendship groups in developing and nurturing a personality committed to diaspora life and its perpetuation through the creation of a Lithuanian family. Thus, Saturday School alone was not enough. Without other exposure to diaspora life (folk dance groups, youth camps, scouts, *Ateitis*), whereby the child made contacts with others in the "community," diaspora life could not be perpetuated. The survey also indicated a drop in parental commitment and interest—essential ingredients in forming an attitude toward the preservation of a diaspora.

In addition to a "social-psychological sense of peoplehood stemming from history," reflected in question 16, a "community," by the very nature of its relationship, has the characteristic of a "social structure" dependent on social relationships crystallized through "the concept of the primary group"

> . . . in which contact is personal, informal, intimate, and usually face to face, and which involves the entire personality. . . . The family, the child's play group, the social clique are all important . . . in that they are first both from the point of view of time in the "socialization" process by which the growing child is indoctrinated into the value of his culture—and first from the standpoint of their importance in moulding human personality.[379]

The crystallization of social relationships, as seen through the primary friendship group concept, was essential to the social structure of the diaspora since "*Social structure*, man's crystallized social relationships, is one side of the coin . . . of human life, the other side of which is *culture*."[380] Culture is seen as the social heritage of man,

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[379]Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, p. 31.

[380]Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, p. 32.

> . . . the way of life of a society, and . . . is seen to consist of prescribed ways of behaving or norms of conduct, beliefs, values, and skills, along with the behavioral patterns and uniformities based on these categories—all this we call "non-material culture"—plus, in an extension of the term, the artifacts created by these skills and values, which we call "material culture".[381]

When defined in the above terms, a close relationship between culture and social structure was apparent in the statistical data gathered on the diaspora. The social structure created situations in which primary friendship groups were formed. These, in turn, perpetuated the culture. If the values of a society changed, as seen in the statistical data on the suburban students who acquired more non-Lithuanian primary friendships, the social relationships in an ethnic group could also be altered.[382] Thus physical and social isolation from the life of the Lithuanian "community" had begun the wheels of assimilation that Leonard Dinnerstein and David M. Reimers, in their work *Ethnic Americans: A History of Immigration and Assimilation*, expressed:

> Whether slow or quick to renounce their past cultures, these immigrants remaining in America saw their children and grandchildren turn away from their heritage. Once begun, the process of assimilation could not be stopped . . . each succeeding generation possessed fewer ties to the old country and was more directly involved with American society. They forgot the language of their grandparents, moved away from the urban ghettos, and gained a strong foothold in the mainstream of American life.[383]

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[381]Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, pp. 32-33.

[382]Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, p. 33.

[383]Leonard Dinnerstein and David M. Reimers, *Ethnic Americans: A History of Immigration and Assimilation* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), p. 55.

The empirical data indicated a direct relationship between changes in primary friendship groups and social relationships, essential to a maintenance of culture—Lithuanianism. The very same intricate relationship of culture to social relationships was found in the cultural philosophy of Stasys Salkauskis. In effect, his ideology, as developed for the *Ateitis* movement, was a cultural philosophy encompassing all facets of a society. It is only through an understanding of the dynamic interaction between culture and social structure that a living diaspora could be perpetuated.

THE CREATION OF AN ENDOWED CHAIR OF LITHUANIAN STUDIES

Adhering to the concept that the "real" Lithuania was in the diaspora, activists continued to create a Lithuanian homeland for those who had never seen Lithuania. At the same time, the exile community realized that any "edifice of Lithuanian culture abroad needed the keystone of a permanent institution."[384] With this thought uppermost in their minds, the executive committee members of the World Lithuanian Community received authorization from delegates at its Fifth Congress, held in Toronto in 1978, to search for a permanent location to house a Lithuanian studies program on the graduate and doctoral levels. By 1981, the committee gravitated to the University of Illinois at Chicago, because they favored a Chicago location and its concentration of Lithuanians. Another contributing factor was that the university already had a Lithuanian studies program, since the early 1970s, consisting of sixteen undergraduate courses within the Department of Slavic Languages funded by the Lithuanian Foundation.

The formal agreement establishing an Endowed Chair of Lithuanian Studies at the University of Illinois at Chicago culminated in an on-campus November 20, 1981, public ceremony, whereby PLB president Vytautas Kamantas signed the founding document. The terms stipulated that the PLB would raise $600,000 in annual $200,000 installments, while the University of Illinois Foundation

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[384]Rimvydas Silbajoris, "Toward a Chair of Lithuanian Studies," *Lituanus*, 29 (Fall 1983), p. 7.

would contribute $150,000 of the total cost of $750,000.[385] The Endowed Chair was to be within the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. Upon fulfillment of one-third of the endowment for the 1984-1985 academic year, however, the department changed its name to the Department of Slavic and Baltic Languages and Literature.

A joint World Lithuanian Community-University of Illinois search committee selected Russian language and literature professor Bronius Vaskelis to head the program in the fall of 1984. Born in Lithuania in 1924, Vaskelis came to the University of Illinois after twenty-two years of teaching at Lafayette College in Easton, Pennsylvania. His 1964 doctoral dissertation, "The Language of Jurgis Baltrusaitis' Lithuanian Poetry," dealt with the Lithuanian poet (1873-1944), writing mostly in Russian, who was part of the symbolist movement in Russian literature and who had close friendships with and literary ties to Konstantin Balmont, Valery Briusov and Viaceslav Ivanov.[386] The committee also appointed Violeta Kelertas, a specialist in Lithuanian language and literature, as assistant professor.

Even though the Chair of Lithuanian Studies had representatives from both the old- and new-generation post-World War II exiles, it was locked into an "ethnic intellectual" syndrome. A biographical sketch in a Lithuanian publication listing scholars active in the Lithuanian community indicated that Vaskelis headed "the literary section of the Institute of Lithuanian Studies and . . . [served as] editorial advisor of the *Journal of Baltic Studies*."[387] Kelertas, a member of the Institute of Lithuanian Studies and on the editorial board of *Metmenys*—a scholarly Lithuanian-language literary magazine specializing in "questions of narrative theory, Lithuanian

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[385]"Lituanistikos Katedra Illinois Universtete Chicago/The Endowed Chair of Lithuanian Studies." University of Illinois at Chicago (Brochure, 1984), p. 3.

[386]Bronius Vaskelis, "Jurgis Baltrusaitis: A Lithuanian and Russian Symbolist (1873-1944)," *Lituanus*, 20 (Spring 1974), pp. 5-6.

[387]A. Pakalniskis, Jr., *Ketvirtasis Mokslo ir Kurybos Simpoziumas/Fourth Lithuanian Symposium on Arts and Sciences* (Chicago: M. Morkunas Press, 1981), p. 402.

prose and criticism. . . ."[388]—also lectured at the PLJS Lithuanian Seminar. In addition, both Vaskelis and Kelertas were active participants in congresses for Lithuanian scholars. These symposia and congresses, which occurred in 1969, 1973, 1977, 1981, and 1985, attracted approximately 200 participants, who lectured in their respective fields to their Lithuanian-speaking familiars.

Most symposia participants, as in the case of Vaskelis, were either exiles who matured in Lithuanian or, as in the case of Kelertas, those born in Lithuania, western Europe or the United States who had entered professions in mainstream society yet identified with a Lithuanian subsociety on a personal level. This professional class concentrated in the areas of engineering, medicine, and accounting and, by the nature of its composition as a group, had not ventured far afield.

As "total identifiers"[389] within the Lithuanian community, Vaskelis and Kelertas conformed to the Arthur Mann-Milton M. Gordon profile:

> The "actively ethnic intellectual" remains within his ethnic group and focuses his intellectual interests precisely on his ethnicity. He is the cultural historian of the group, the theologian, the communal leader, the apologist, the scholar of its art, its music, and its literature. While he maintains a respectable acquaintanceship with the broader ideological currents and events around him, his primary interests and passions are reserved for the racial, religious, or nationality background ethos in which he considers his roots to be firmly placed.[390]

Diaspora Lithuanianism had not produced any thinkers for the purpose of developing a cohesive social philosophy to reshape Lithuanianism in an American setting. That is to say, the Lithuanian diaspora had not

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[388]Pakalniskis, Jr., *Simpoziumas*, p. 236.

[389]Mann, *The One and the Many*, p. 171.

[390]Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, p. 228.

been able to "redefine" Lithuanian "society."[391] Because the creation of a Lithuanian studies program centered on Lithuanian language and literature, without a corresponding interest concerning the implications of "America's definition of nationality . . . [as] civic rather than cultural,"[392] it failed to note the power of "a transcending creed"[393] native to America.

A second weakness of the program centered around the "actively ethnic intellectuals" not understanding and, therefore, not seeing themselves as part of European literary movements and historical trends. The Lithuanian program consisted of four time periods: writers of the nineteenth century, the independence era (1918-1940), the Soviet era (1940-present) and exile literature. However, the program lacked an interdisciplinary approach in that no comparative literature or corresponding history program existed. In addition, the director acknowledged a concern for the educational background of the students. For example, the program required that the nine candidates in 1985-1986 be fluent in Lithuanian and have a B.A. or M.A. in any discipline—hardly preparation for training of diaspora culture bearers with a sense of historical continuity. The doctoral candidates not only lacked a foundation in their degree speciality by virtue of their graduate and undergraduate degrees in unrelated fields but also lacked a historical perspective of Lithuanian literature for want of an interdisciplinary approach encompassing history, economics, or comparative literature. Lithuanian literature did not evolve without ties to literary and historical developments in Europe. Therefore, exile Lithuanian literary specialists, who viewed Lithuanian literature as a "cultural desert" until its "sudden" appearance in the eighteenth century, failed to understand the interrelationships between language and history. In the process, they removed the literature from European literary and historical currents, thereby diminishing the potential value of the program. The deficiency of other disciplines and a student body drawn from programs not synchronized with Lithuanian literature also

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[391]Melvin I. Urofsky, *American Zionism from Herzl to the Holocaust* (Garden City, New Jersey: Anchor Books, 1976), p. 118.

[392]Mann, *The One and the Many*, p. 178.

[393]Mann, *The One and the Many*, p. 179.

pointed to the degree as more for prestige and "hobby" rather than as a training ground for heirs to diaspora Lithuanianism.

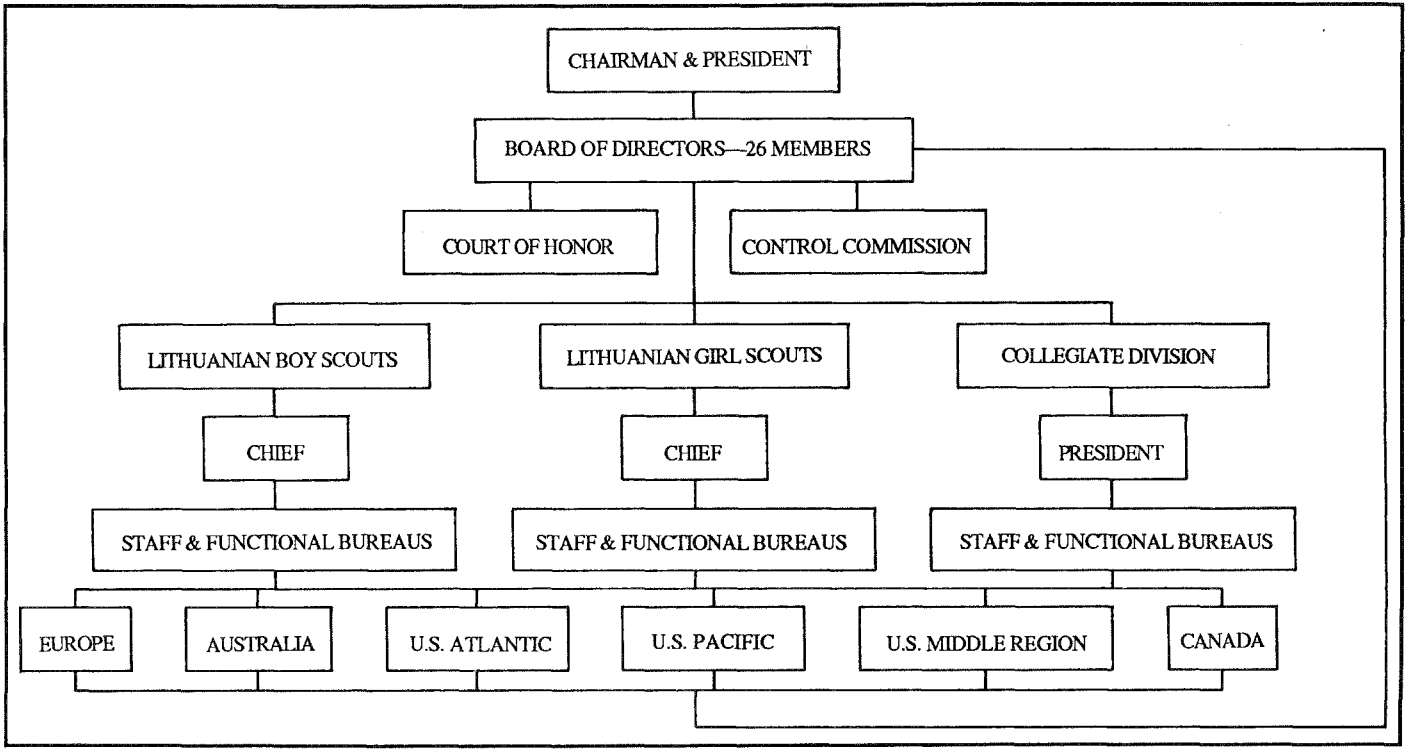


Figure 3. Lithuanian Scouts Association, Inc., General Chart of Administration (From: Lithuanian Boy Scouts Press and Information Division, 1985; graphic by Kurt McCoy).

Kristijonas Donelaitis Saturday school, kindergarten class at the awards ceremony, in Chicago, June 1988 (photo by Jonas Tamulaitis).

Lithuanian dance group "Vytis" performing at the Lithuanian Youth Center, in Chicago, 1983 (photo by Felicia Banys).

Table 5. Lithuanian Scouts and Community Schools: Donelaitis, Maironis, Darius and Girėnas[1]

	D	*M*	*D&G*	*Chgo Total*	*Subs*	*Lith. 3*	*Primary Friendships 2*	*1*	*0*	*Lith. Scouts*
1. *Present residence:*										
Chicago	47	—	43	38	—	18	10	9	2	69
Suburbs	53	100	57	—	62	19	16	18	8	31
2. *College education:*										
Father	77	88	75	78	78	82	71	85	69	53
Mother	73	88	63	66	76	80	66	71	56	38
3. *I speak Lithuanian:*										
Not at all	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
A little	1	4	2	—	3	2	—	2	6	—
Fair	20	67	6	14	28	18	17	24	50	—
Fluently	79	29	90	85	68	80	80	73	38	65
I read Lithuanian:										
Not at all	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
A little	5	4	2	2	5	4	—	7	6	—
Fair	23	71	25	20	38	25	27	41	31	—
Fluently	72	25	71	81	57	70	71	61	63	68
4. *I learned most of my Lithuanian:*										
In Saturday School	13	25	10	7	18	11	15	10	31	35
At home	87	75	90	93	82	89	85	90	69	54
Youth Camp	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7
5. *If asked for nationality, I would say:*										
Lithuanian	86	79	94	96	82	96	78	85	88	85
Lithuanian-American	11	21	6	2	17	2	22	10	12	11
American	3	—	—	2	1	—	—	5	—	4

6. *Last year, I read the following number of Lithuanian books:*										
None	8	13	12	5	13	7	7	15	25	32
One	17	42	21	15	21	18	27	17	31	24
Two-five	51	33	51	49	46	38	56	56	38	23
Six-ten	15	8	16	22	10	25	10	10	6	7
Eleven or more	10	4	—	9	4	13	—	2	6	12
7. *Last year, I purchased the following number of Lithuanian books:*										
None	23	58	25	20	35	20	29	22	63	38
One	28	21	8	20	20	16	20	27	25	24
Two-five	38	8	51	41	36	45	41	37	6	27
Six-ten	3	13	16	9	8	7	10	10	6	4
Eleven or more	9	—	—	10	1	11	—	2	—	5
8. *I receive at least one Lithuanian:*										
Newspaper	98	71	100	100	91	96	95	95	88	99
Magazine	61	42	65	70	53	73	61	54	19	84
9. *I read the Lithuanian newspaper/magazine:*										
Never	6	21	2	3	10	2	7	10	19	5
Often	52	13	53	64	35	68	54	32	12	57
Rarely	35	67	43	32	50	29	34	56	69	37
10. *My three closest friends are:*										
All Lithuanian	43	21	34	46	31	35	—	—	—	60
Two Lithuanian	21	37	29	27	26	—	27	—	—	27
One Lithuanian	27	21	29	24	28	—	—	27	—	12
All American	9	21	8	5	14	—	—	—	10	1
11. *My parents object to my dating non-Lithuanians:*										
Fiercely	23	—	14	27	10	27	10	12	6	35
Mildly	29	50	57	39	43	46	24	37	25	41
Take no interest	44	50	29	32	45	27	44	44	69	19
Encourage	3	—	—	—	2	—	—	5	—	—
12. *I would send my children to:*										
Saturday School	82	79	88	93	78	91	90	73	44	97

Table 5. (*Continued*)

		D	*M*	*D&G*	*Chgo Total*	*Subs*	*Lith. 3*	*Primary Friendships 2*	*1*	*0*	*Lith. Scouts*
Folk dance group		59	54	74	75	57	84	59	51	38	95
Youth Camp		68	63	73	76	64	27	71	64	31	97
None of the above		9	4	2	2	1	—	—	5	25	3
13. *If Lithuania regained independence in my lifetime, I would:*											
Resettle in Lithuania		11	8	12	12	12	16	15	5	6	3
Vacation in Lithuania		83	88	84	85	84	77	76	85	69	96
Take no interest		3	4	2	—	4	—	5	—	12	—
14. *I have felt uncomfortable speaking Lithuanian in the presence of non-Lithuanians:*											
(Never)	1	44	50	39	39	42	61	37	41	31	42
	2	27	17	18	27	19	27	24	20	12	20
	3	5	17	18	10	12	21	15	10	6	18
	4	13	21	11	14	14	—	12	15	31	10
	5	1	8	4	—	5	2	5	—	6	4
	6	6	—	8	9	4	5	6	7	6	3
(Always)	7	3	4	2	2	3	—	—	7	6	3
15. *I want to marry someone Lithuanian-speaking:*											
(Definitely yes)	1	33	25	34	42	25	64	24	7	6	43
	2	19	8	25	17	20	18	27	22	—	28
	3	19	13	21	22	17	4	27	32	—	15
	4	24	50	14	15	31	21	22	34	56	8
	5	1	—	2	2	1	—	—	—	19	1
	6	—	4	4	2	2	—	—	2	12	1
(Definitely no)	7	4	—	—	—	3	—	—	2	6	1
16. *I know Lithuanian history:*											
(Very much)	1	32	—	16	27	18	41	12	10	—	31

	2	34	4	29	36	23	23	46	20	25	20
	3	6	42	25	15	20	14	20	17	25	19
	4	8	29	18	12	16	7	7	29	19	15
	5	18	17	8	10	17	5	20	24	19	7
	6	3	8	4	—	6	7	—	—	12	3
(Very little)	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
17. *Christmas wafers (Plotkeles) are a part of my Christmas:*											
(Always)	1	87	88	94	90	90	96	90	88	75	96
	2	—	4	2	—	2	—	—	2	6	—
	3	1	—	4	3	1	—	2	2	6	—
	4	4	4	—	3	2	4	2	—	6	—
	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	6	1	4	—	—	2	—	2	2	—	—
(Never)	7	5	—	—	—	2	—	2	5	6	1
18. *Lithuanians are more honest than Americans:*											
True		60	71	55	68	55	77	66	39	38	66
False		39	29	43	31	44	20	34	56	62	34
Lithuanians are more culture-rich than Americans:											
True		92	96	80	92	87	95	85	80	75	100
False		5	4	16	8	8	4	5	17	25	—
Lithuanian children have better manners than American children:											
True		73	58	65	81	60	70	78	54	50	84
False		24	33	23	15	32	20	12	36	50	16
Lithuanians are more intellectual than Americans:											
True		75	75	61	76	66	79	90	54	44	87
False		22	25	34	22	28	20	15	36	56	13
Lithuanian foods are preferable to American foods:											
True		63	54	47	61	54	70	51	46	38	76
False		35	42	47	37	42	29	41	46	62	24

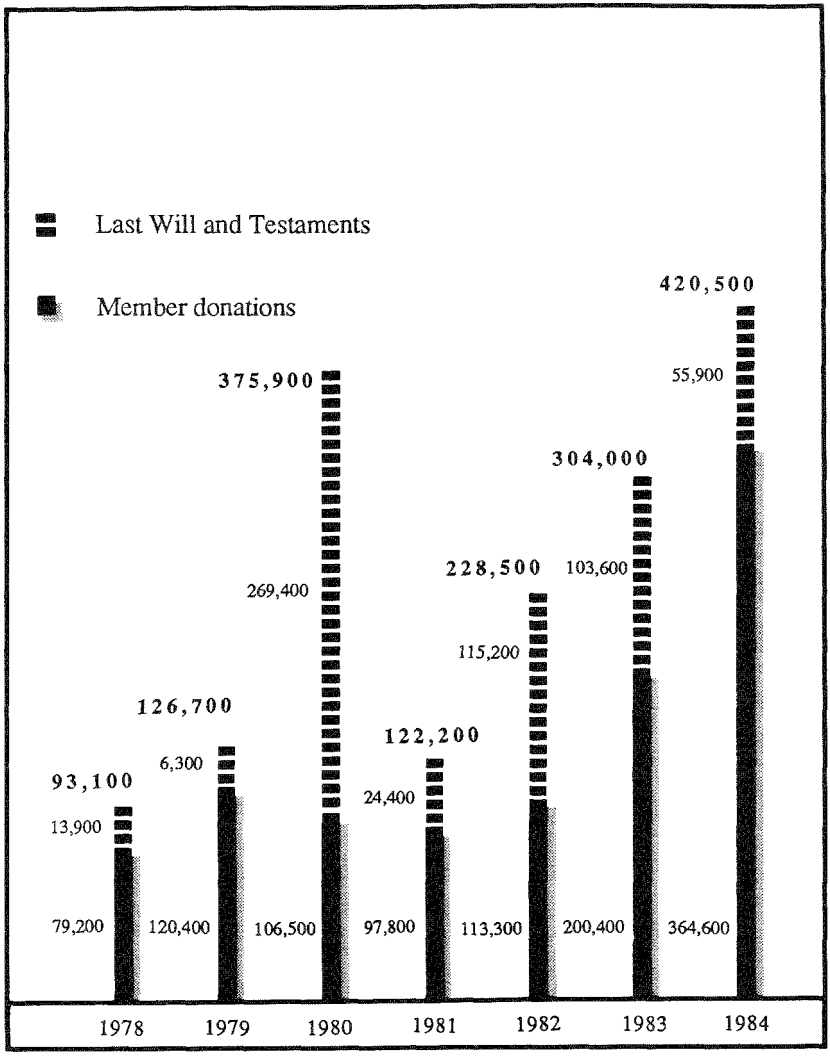
[1]Numerical values expressed as percents.

Table 6. Lithuanian Foundation Growth, Profits, and Disbursements

Year	LF MEMBERSHIP AND CONTRIBUTIONAL GROWTH Members	Yearly sum	Total	LF PROFIT DISBURSEMENT Yearly sum	Total yearly sum	YEARLY EXPENSES AND PROFITS Credit	Debit	Profit
1962	98	44,505	44,505	1,200	1,200	4.94	0.51	4.43
1963	299	59,575	104,080	3,000	4,200	5.20	1.21	3.99
1964	225	63,321	167,401	5,500	9,700	4.13	1.08	3.05
1965	324	61,728	229,129	10,000	19,700	3.49	0.69	2.80
1966	440	87,279	316,408	—	19,700	4.11	1.22	2.89
1967	370	83,864	400,272	20,000	39,700	8.26	1.38	6.88
1968	466	115,728	516,000	28,000	67,700	7.45	2.34	5.11
1969	336	93,612	609,612	33,300	101,000	7.63	2.10	5.53
1970	204	65,398	675,010	31,000	132,000	6.37	1.81	4.56
1971	139	45,436	720,446	40,000	172,000	7.32	1.49	5.83
1972	281	73,174	793,620	57,380	229,380	9.87	2.37	7.50
1973	224	102,151	895,771	50,000	279,380	8.60	2.00	6.60
1974	498	147,547	1,043,318	24,770	304,150	3.84	2.09	1.75
1975	121	67,973	1,111,251	51,712	355,862	6.08	1.63	4.45
1976	245	103,738	1,215,029	49,000	404,862	6.07	1.85	2.22
1977	146	216,571	1,431,600	71,815	476,677	7.52	1.45	6.07
1978	102	93,141	1,524,741	73,374	550,051	7.37	1.73	5.64
1979	208	126,659	1,651,400	93,768	643,819	7.57	1.73	5.84
1980	134	375,883	2,027,283	112,766	756,585	9.64	2.40	7.24
1981	156	122,160	2,149,443	135,000	891,585	11.25	2.04	9.21
1982	187	228,480	2,377,923	140,000	1,031,585	12.51	4.60	7.91
1983	113	303,937	2,681,860	160,000	1,191,585	12.95	4.29	8.67
1984	244	420,437	3,102,297	165,000	1,356,586	11.70	4.01	7.69
Total:	5,560							

Source: "Lithuanian Foundation, Inc." (Brochure, 1983), p. 3.

Table 7. The Growth of the Lithuanian Foundation, 1978-1984[a]



[a]A figure in bold is the total for the year. (Data from Lithuanian Foundation *Newsletter* [February 21, 1985], p. 4 [graphic by Kurt McCoy]).

CHAPTER 6

A CATHOLIC IDENTITY

The dynamics of a diaspora as a continuum for generations to come depended on *Ateitis* members serving as role models for the "community." This required an intimacy with the organization's ideology, as developed by the cultural philosopher Stasys Salkauskis. According to the ideology, national individuality rested on two mutually supportive pillars—culture and Roman Catholicism. In essence then, culture raised religion, which, in turn, raised culture. Through culture, which included aspects of community living—such as family, education and primary groups—man became psychologically whole. In so doing, he was able to reach and understand the ideal. Understanding the fundamentals of the ideology could only bring man a step closer to the ideal—religion and God. In that way, Salkauskian ideology had the potential to give relevancy and purpose to the existence of the *Ateitis* member. By the time the exile children matured, however, confusion over ideology had manifested itself in several ways.

The state of confusion over Salkauskian ideology germinated in the DP camp period of the diaspora. Shortly after the end of World War II and the Allied occupation of Western Germany, the Pope activated a Vatican mission among the Lithuanian refugees. At that time, Roman Catholics constituted 85.5 percent of the exiles while 11 percent were Protestants, mostly from the Klaipeda area (in German, Memel).[394] Roman Catholic priests became national delegates in service to both the exiles and to Rome. Even scouts, a secular organization during the independence period, had clerical spiritual advisors who joined love of Church and country under Roman Catholic auspices. The revival of the *Ateitis* movement also experienced an influx of clergy, among them Rev. Dr. Stasys Yla, a former Stutthof Concentration Camp inmate. Yla became the spiritual

[394]Vytautas Alseika, "DP" in *Lietuviu Enciklopedija*, 5: 162.

leader of the *Ateitis* Federation in the camp period of the diaspora, remaining in that position until his death in Chicago in March of 1983.

The monopoly of churchmen, not necessarily familiar with Salkauskian ideology, served to move Lithuanianism away from a national orientation and toward pan-Catholicism. Essentially, four books espoused the organization's ideology: *Ateitinink u ideologija (Ideology of Ateitininkai)* by Stasys Salkauskis (1954); *Lietuviskoji iseivija (Lithuanian Emigration)* by Mykolas Krupavicius (1959); *Asmuo ir istorija (The Individual and History)* by Antanas Maceina (1981); and *Ateitininku vadovas (Guide for Ateitininkai)* by Stasys Yla (1960, updated and expanded in 1983).

Of these, Rev. Yla's *Ateitininku vadovas* had the most influence upon the organization and its membership. At the same time, it did not reflect an understanding of the organization's ideology as developed by Salkauskis and perpetuated by his followers, Krupavicius and Maceina. Yla interpreted Catholicism as the foundation of the "community" and thus opened the door to assimilation through the American Roman Catholic Church's universalist creed, which placed the "greatest stress on the religious bonds" shared with others.[395]

Failure to not only understand its own ideology but also to instill it in the next generation made the organization powerless to deflect assimilation. Indicative of this was the fact that in 1978, the *Ateitis* Federation at Camp *Dainava* held its first "Ethnic Heritage" camp for non-Lithuanian speaking children ages seven to fourteen from mixed families. Emphasis revolved around the bond of Roman Catholicism and the *Ateitis* Federation's tie to the Lithuanian Roman Catholic Federation of America (LRCFA), a first wave Catholic lay organization. In 1982, the LRCFA began publishing *The Observer*, an English-language newspaper with two goals: to reach Catholic Americans of Lithuanian background and to direct Lithuanian concerns about the homeland to the American political arena. Evidence of language erosion and the merging emphasis on a religious identity coupled with involvement in American politics pointed to the next generation—the American-born children—moving toward an ethnic group orientation with a Catholic identity.

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[395]Mann, *The One and the Many*, p. 162.

THE CREATION OF CAMP *DAINAVA*

A prominent figure in the *Ateitis* movement, both in Lithuania and in the diaspora, was Adolfas Damusis, who became president of the Lithuanian Roman Catholic youth organization in the spring of 1930. When State President Antanas Smetona banned the various *Ateitis* organizations in September of 1930, Damusis formed the group into an underground army of 10,000. Arrested and released several times for illegal activities before the Soviet invasion, on June 15, 1940, Damusis and geographer Kazys Pakstas became the dominant figures within the *Ateitis* movement. On June 22, 1941, Adolfas Damusis became Minister of Industry in the short-lived Provisional Government of Lithuania that drove out the Red Army during the first hours of the German attack on the U.S.S.R. On August 6, 1941, the Nazi authorities dissolved the Provisional Government of Lithuania. Due to ideological friction among themselves, the two anti-Nazi resistance centers—the National Council (TT) and the Supreme Lithuanian Committee (VLK)— were organized: the first group composed of Christian idealists, and the latter group of Nationalists, Populists, and Social Democrats. After two years of separate activities, the two factions merged into the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania *(Vyriausias Lietuvos Islaisvinimo Komitetas)*, or VLIK. As a representative of the Lithuanian Front in the TT, Damusis joined VLIK as vice chairman in November of 1941. After a half year of underground activity, he and eight other members of VLIK were apprehended by the gestapo, accused of treason and kept in a series of German concentration camps. American troops liberated him on April 14, 1945.[396]

In the displaced persons camps, Damusis became chief organizer of *Ateitis* and played a part in the founding of the Lithuanian Community (LB) in Hanau in 1946. He emigrated to the United States, in 1947, under special consideration for former Nazi concentration camp inmates. Once on American soil, he entered the chemical industry in the field of polymer research and, by 1949, became president of the Lithuanian Roman Catholic Federation of

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[396]Juozas Kapocius, ed., "Adolfas Damusis" in *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, 2: 21-22. Also: Damusis letter to author, dated February 26, 1989.

America, a first wave organization composed of hyphenated Americans. When 900 members of the *Ateitis* Federation reformed in 1949 at the Sherman Hotel in Chicago, Professor Pakstas and Adolfas Damusis addressed the group.[397] The two most influential leaders of the movement presented different projects outlining means of maintaining Lithuanianism in the diaspora. While Pakstas reissued his call for a purely Lithuanian colony in an underdeveloped country, Damusis felt that the diaspora was safe as long as a percentage of Lithuanian youth (including the American-born Lithuanian youth of future generations) retained a high proficiency in the Lithuanian language.[398]

While the JAVLB began establishing a Saturday School system outside of parish control, Damusis created an institution in Camp *Dainava*—separate from archdiocesan and clerical control and yet Roman Catholic. Camp Dainava's 1955 separation from diocesan control was related to the 1906 formation of the Lithuanian Roman Catholic Federation of America (LRCFA). The founders of this Catholic lay organization, Reverend Antanas Kaupas, Antanas Milukas and several of their clerical friends, championed a Lithuanian spirit within the American Roman Catholic Church. While the LRCFA never created any institutions outside the control of the church, it was, by virtue of being a lay organization, in a position to initiate lay projects within the Lithuanian Roman Catholic community. Joining the LRCFA, Damusis had one goal in mind—to use the organization to help found a Lithuanian youth camp in America. Damusis introduced the idea at LRCFA national congresses in, 1950, 1952, and 1954.[399]

By 1954, the LRCFA membership elected Damusis national chairman, thereby replacing Leonardas Simutis, editor of *Draugas* and founding member of the LAC. As national chairman of the LRCFA, Damusis initiated a "Catholic Action Fund Raiser" for raising money to light candles at a holy shrine in Lourdes, France. According to his close friend and associate, Bronius Polikaitis,

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[397]Vilainis and Sidlauskas, *Chicagos Lietuviu Metrastis*, p. 122.

[398]Interview with Adolfas Damusis, July 10, 1983.

[399]Interview with Bronius Polikaitis, July 10, 1983.

> Damusis knew that many Lithuanian-Americans would be . . . attracted to lighting candles at Lourdes. At the same time, he appealed to the exiles by noting that the candles would be lighted in the name of fallen Lithuanian partisans who died fighting the Soviet Union.[400]

According to Polikaitis, over $6,000 was collected for that purpose and for a down payment on a camp site purchase. Approximately 50 percent of the total came from the Lithuanian-Americans and another 50 percent from the exiles, all collected within a six-month period. Because Damusis' primary aim had been to condition the opposition to the idea of purchasing a camp, the Lourdes' projects leftover funds were slated to that end. Since each candle at Lourdes cost ten cents, the project left ninety cents out of every collected dollar for the youth camp.[401]

When fundraising ended in the spring of 1955, Damusis announced an intensive search for a camp site in the vicinity of the geographic location that formed a triangle between Chicago, Detroit and Cleveland. In the fall of 1955, Lithuanian youth leader Reverend Jonas Borevicius visited a farm in rural Manchester, Michigan, at the suggestion of LRCFA member Helen Rauby of Detroit. Upon examination of the site, a decision was made to purchase it for a $6,000 down payment and an additional $14,000 in installment payments.[402] When Damusis unofficially turned to the leaders of the LRCFA for approval of the land purchase, he met opposition. Since his "exile" block occupied only about one-fourth of the important positions within the LRCFA, Damusis faced defeat when the projected purchase came before the fall council meeting of the organizations national board. According to Polikaitis, of the four most powerful leaders in 1955, three were opposed—Leonardas Simutis, Anthony J.

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[400]Polikaitis interview, July 10, 1983.

[401]Polikaitis and Damusis interviews, July 10, 1983 and January 26, 1988 respectively.

[402]Vacys Rociunas, ed., *Dainava: Dainavos Sidabrine Sukaktis* (Brooklyn, New York: Franciscan Fathers Press, 1981), p. 8.

Rudis, and John Balciunas—while exile member Vaclovas Kleiza was for the project.[403]

In the fall of that year, Damusis asked for and received permission to hold an unofficial meeting of interested Lithuanians at the spacious home of Rudis, president of Chicago's Rockwell Engineering Company, on the night before the official meeting of the LRCFA council in St. Anthony's Church Hall in Cicero. Acting as moderator, Damusis allowed the anti-camp forces to air their view, but the climate remained favorable to the project. At the LRCFA meeting the following evening, Damusis brought up the agenda item of a camp purchase in Michigan, noting that the project had received overwhelming support at a meeting in the Rudis home the night before. The item passed without discussion, with the LRCFA giving Bronius Polikaitis a $2,500 check as down payment for the Michigan site.[404]

Because the Cicero meeting had been a regional one, the LRCFA, at its national meeting on December 3, 1955, was able to nullify its financial obligation and withdraw all support from the project. As a result, Damusis promised to create an autonomous branch of the LRCFA called Lithuanian American Roman Catholic Federation Youth Camps, Inc., a financially independent non-profit Michigan, corporation with no legal ties to the LRCFA.[405] Since only one camp was purchased at the time, the term "camps" created a situation where future camps could be added to the original Manchester, Michigan site. Enthusiastic supporters quickly raised the $6,000 down payment. Thus, it was possible to pinpoint 1955 as the year when the cleavage between the Lithuanian-Americans and the recently arrived Lithuanian exiles occurred—precipitated by the establishment of *Dainava* Youth Camp as a Lithuanian-language linguistic preserve for the *Ateitis* Federation.

Even though Damusis and the camp organizers planned to purchase the land for a Roman Catholic youth camp, they hesitated to

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[403]Polikaitis interview, July 10, 1983.

[404]Polikaitis interview, July 10, 1983. Also Adolfas Damusis, January 26, 1988.

[405]Damusis interview, March 23, 1985.

ask permission from the Archdiocese of Detroit in securing the site. Damusis and Polikaitis did not wish to have *Dainava* deeded to the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit. The exile group realized the position of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States on nationality. Aware of the problem of "corporation sole," in which the local bishop became the sole title holder of the property, Damusis faced the problem of securing permission from the Bishop of Detroit to allow *Dainava* to operate independently within his geographic diocesan area. No precedent for owning and operating a Roman Catholic corporation outside the jurisdiction of the local bishop existed when the exile leadership gained an audience with Detroit Bishop Zaletski and successfully received his permission. Bronius Polikaitis felt that Bishop Zaletski's great love for his Lithuanian mother, coupled with the fact that the request was for a "summer camp," which would arouse no conflict with religious orders in his diocese, were determining factors in his decision.[406] Using his home in Detroit as security, Adolfas Damusis, his wife Jadvyga and Rev. Antanas Juska signed the deed on December 7, 1955, in Manchester. The official purchase listed the Lithuanian American Roman Catholic Federation, *Dainava*, Inc., a lay organization, as holding title to the camp. According to Damusis, *Ateitis* members owned most of the shares to the property and "As long as we do not build a church, we control the property."[407] Unlike the first wave Lithuanian Roman Catholics, who signed over the properties they built to the local archdiocese, the purchase of *Dainava* set a precedent in that it became a Roman Catholic corporation owned by Roman Catholic shareholders.

The last problem, that of securing a new staff with a non-existent budget, was solved when the transplanted Sisters of the Immaculate Conception at Putnam, Connecticut, under Sister Superior Aloyza, agreed not only to staff the camp but also to do whatever supervisory work was within their means in order to help prepare the camp for a 1957 opening. When Camp *Dainava* opened its door for the first time on July 14, 1957, with approximately two hundred youths and a staff drawn from the *Ateitis* Federation membership, he included ceremonies for VLIK, anti-Nazi and anti-Soviet partisans,

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[406]Polikaitis interview, July 10, 1983.

[407]Damusis interview, March 17, 1985.

and the PLB.[408] Their presence was not only a natural result but also symbolic of VLIK creating the Lithuanian Exile Community *(Lietuviu Tremtiniu Bendruomene)*, in 1946, and the Lithuanian Charter, in 1949, when all factions were present not as opponents but as members subscribing to the same Lithuanianism.

DAINAVA WITHIN THE STRUCTURE OF THE *ATEITIS* FEDERATION

With the establishment of Camp *Dainava* as an integral part of the *Ateitis* Federation, the organization aimed to create a controlled rural environment free from American influences. According to founder Damusis, "*Dainava* was specifically created as a base for diaspora Lithuanianism. Here, the language and culture can be passed on to the next generation."[409] Defining Lithuanianism as a cultural ideology, he said

> No universalist creed is fit for Lithuanianism. . . . Lithuanian is based on language and culture. . . . The Lithuanian Roman Catholic Church is a nationalist church in which Lithuanianism and Christianity are integrated, not segregated. . . . Lithuanianism is itself a diaspora creed within Christianity.[410]

Apparent in Damusis' definition was particularistic religion, which differed in its roots from universal political and religious ideologies native to the West. He stressed the nature of Lithuanianism as a religious one, adding that the term "religious" was not to be confined to religion but extended even to atheists who operated on the same altruistic principles. Significantly, the Roman Catholic Damusis saw

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[408]Damusis interview, July 10, 1983.

[409]Damusis interview, March 23, 1985.

[410]Damusis interview, March 23, 1985.

Basanavicius and his de-Polanized atheist followers, like Kudirka and Sliupas "apostles of Lithuanianism."[411]

The same feeling of Lithuanianism as a religious nature was expressed by some of the older members of the *Ateitis* Federation. For example, opthomologist Linas Sidrys, a 1977 graduate of the Pritzker School of Medicine, who became the first medical student from the United States to study in Soviet Lithuania, used his off-duty time in Lithuania to seek out kindred spirits committed to Lithuanianism. He recalled that "cultural evenings of poetry readings in Lithuanian were akin to a religious experience," and added that

> Only a high level of fluency in the Lithuanian language enables one to reach the Lithuanian spirit. . . . Without the language and culture, Lithuanianism would cease to exist.[412]

Since Lithuanians did not control their own country, he saw their existence as a people made possible by the language.

Another *Ateitis* member, Ausra Skirmantaite-Liulevicius, also expressed Lithuanianism in terms of a religious experience. Married to an *Ateitis* editor, Arunas Liulevicius—a University of Chicago professor in the field of algebraic topology, Ausra Liulevicius believed that literature exists only in the language in which it is created:

> . . . Poetry in Lithuanian is powerful only in Lithuanian. If one loses the language, the meaning of the words are lost.[413]

Starting out as a major in American Literature, she functioned on what Gordon called the acculturation level in that she felt a part of it "within a process of appropriation; at the same time" Ausra Liulevicius remained a total identifier within her own ethnic group by choice since she ". . . did not shed Lithuanianism. My motivation to

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[411]Damusis interview, March 23, 1985.

[412]Interview with Linas Sidrys, June 15, 1983.

[413]Interview with Ausra Skirmantaite-Liulevicius, June 15, 1983.

be Lithuanian comes from a feeling of being part of a historical consciousness reaching back to the eighteenth century. . . . A feeling of 'my people' arises out of a summary experience in which I am part of a chain. . . ." [414] In the process, she concluded that she did not see herself as a hyphenated Lithuanian-American but rather one who possessed a "dual identity and a different set of assumptions and concerns under different conditions."[415]

The term *bendruomene* was a call for a collective soul which had a fundamental love for a cause greater than self. Those with a spirit of "community-*bendruomene*" did not see money earned by them as private property but as a vehicle to aid a cause greater than the self, as in the founding of *Dainava,* when engineers, carpenters, bricklayers, and other volunteers banded to transform roadless overgrown meadows into a modern camp. The same fundamental philosophy lay behind the Lithuanian Foundation—not an Antanas Razma Foundation but rather a collective endeavor. In contrast, first wave emphasis seemed more in tune with American ideology by focusing on the individual. For example, the Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture bears the name of its founder. For Damusis, the feeling of being part of a national collective with a mission was the strength of a diaspora and the preservation of a healthy linguistic and cultural segment of the nation abroad.

As an integral part of its structure, Camp *Dainava* functioned to accommodate the membership of the *Ateitis* Federation (fig. 4), which was divided into four distinct groups: *Jaunuciai*—composed of primary age boys and girls; *Moksleiviai*—composed of high school age boys and girls; *Studentai*—composed of college and university students to age thirty-five; and *Sendraugiai*—middle-aged, retired professionals.[416] The president of the organization presided over a *Valdyba*, or executive council, of five members, each representing one of the age groups, and a *Taryba* or ruling council, made up of twenty members elected by all except the *Jaunuciai* the *Tarybe*. In turn, had the responsibility for approximately 2,000 *Ateitis* Federation members

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[414]Skirmantaite-Liulevicius interview, June 15, 1983.

[415]Skirmantaite-Liulevicius, June 15, 1983.

[416]Interview with Kazys Pemkus, January 24, 1985.

in the Western World—most of whom resided in the United States, with the heaviest concentration in the Chicago area.[417] Because the organization's structure was based on age categories, association within every group, as well as between groups, continued. As each group entered either college or professional life, *Dainava* had year-round academic and social programs tailored to the specific needs and interests of the life-long *Ateitis* member.

In 1984, *Jaunuciai* was under the direction of Ramune Rackauskas, an elementary school teacher whose husand, a Chicago State University professor, directed the Lithuanian Pedagogical Institute. *Jaunuciai* consisted of sixty children, ages seven to thirteen, from the Chicago area. To introduce these first- and second-generation American-born children to a Lithuanian spirit, Ramune Raskauskas used an *Ateitis* Federation text, *Jaunuciu vadova.*. The text consisted of songs, poems, and art interspersed with *Ateitis* philosophy. The group spent summers at Camp *Dainava.* Activities were structured around the theme "Journey through Lithuania," which included studying maps, acting out legends, and relating said theme to each of the regions in Lithuania. For example, the Baltic coast of Palanga would have a sea theme. During the summer of 1984, one hundred fifty *Jaunuciai* from across the United States joined her group of sixty at Camp *Dainava*. Mrs. Raskauskas felt that *Dainava*, by combining language with activities, gave Lithuanianism life and thereby drew the children naturally toward a Lithuanian spirit:

> My own children, ages 13 and 16, were drawn to Lithuanianism by attending *Dainava.* As a result, they underwent a spiritual transformation which can be continued to the next generation beyond me and them, since I wish to pass on my Lithuanian self beyond my own life span.[418]

An active member of the JAVLB's Educational Council, she developed and collected lesson plans that inculcated a Lithuanian spirit in American-born *Ateitis* youth.

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[417]Pemkus interview, January 24, 1985.

[418]Interview with Ramune Rackauskas, February 9, 1985.

After elementary school, *Jaunuciai* progressed to *Moksleiviai.* In 1985, this group was under the direction of Dalia Katiliute-Boydstun, a Ph.D. in psychology who taught at St. Xavier College in Chicago. In addition to the fifty-six member Chicago group, Dr. Katiliute-Boydstun was also world director of *Moksleiviai*, composed of 150 members scattered in smaller groups around the United States and approximately 100 members split almost evenly between Sydney and Melbourne, Australia, and West Germany.[419] In articulating her commitment to the organization and to *Dainava*, Dr. Katiliute-Boydstun saw

> *Ateitis* ideals . . . deeply valuable on a personal basis—a Lithuanian identity . . . faith . . . spirituality . . . the development of one's cultural and intellectual capacities . . . the concept of the family as the basis of society . . . the importance of working collectively toward a collaborative society. . . .[420]

She saw *Dainava* as a bonding force, almost "mystical" and likened it to a fatherland *(tevyne)*. Coming to Omaha, Nebraska, with her parents after World War II, she grew up in a largely American environment. Dr. Katiliute-Boydstun experienced a "rebirth" while attending *Dainava* as a high school girl. It was there that Lithuania became real to her by bringing meaning to her life. Although she married a non-Lithuanian professor of English Literature with American roots going back to before the Civil War, Dr. Katiliute-Boydstun kept her maiden name and taught her husband and their seventeen-year-old son to be fluent in the Lithuanian language. She explained that

> The Lithuanian language is critically important. My husband, son and I speak Lithuanian at home since the language, as a vehicle, cannot be replaced in Lithuanian culture. . . . [it] carries associations and, through them, concepts, ideas and values forming a bond and a means to go beyond daily conversation.

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[419]Interview with Dalia Katiliute-Boydstun, February 12, 1985.

[420]Katiliute-Boydstun interview, February 12, 1985.

> Language carries the aura of the Lithuanian people.[421]

When she attended *Dainava* as a student, she felt that she was on the receiving end; as an organizer for the *Ateitis* Federation, "I can give of myself which makes life even more meaningful for me."[422]

The activities of Chicago area *Moksleiviai* centered around sharing feelings on what it meant to be both a Lithuanian and a Roman Catholic in an American environment. Activities included writing letters to imprisoned Lithuanians in the Soviet Union as well as to organizations and individuals in the West on their behalf, an annual retreat at the *Ateitis* Home *(Ateitininku Namai)*, a mansion in the southwest Chicago suburb of Lemont, and an ongoing project of familiarizing the American public with Lithuania through publications in American school newspapers along with donations of books on Lithuanians and their country. The focal point of the group's activities was Camp *Dainava*, where *Moksleiviai* from various geographic areas in the Western world attended an annual two-week summer camp that culminated in a convention. In addition, an intensive three-and-a-half day course in *Ateitis* ideology and preservation of culture in the diaspora was presented during the Thanksgiving Day weekend. Run in three-year cycles, the course required each participant to present a lecture to his peers and lead discussion groups as part of leadership training. Winter courses on selected weekends at *Dainava* also attracted members.

Chicago's *Studentai*, a circle of forty college students, in 1985, were jointly headed by Dalia Polikaitis and Gaja Pemkus, both students. The group held meetings at private homes or at the *Ateitis* Home in Lemont, with selected weekend courses at the Polikaitis family vacation home in South Haven, Michigan. The group's operating funds came from fall dances and an annual Easter dance attended by college age *Ateitis* members and Lithuanian scouts. To reciprocate, *Ateitis* members attended the annual Christmas dance hosted by college age Lithuanian scouts. A sophomore at the University of Illinois at Chicago who joined the *Ateitis* Federation's

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[421]Katiliute-Boydstun interview, February 12, 1985.

[422]Katiliute-Boydstun interview, February 12, 1985.

Jaunuciai at age five, Polikaitis saw herself as a diaspora Lithuanian with "responsibilities to keep alive the Lithuanian language and traditions in a foreign country and to create Lithuanian families." She also felt that part of the main goal was "to somehow help Lithuania to regain its freedom and to help it to exist. For these reasons we must not disappear in America."

In contrast to older *Ateitis* members like Ausra Skirmantaite-Liulevicius, Ramune Rackauskas, and Dr. Katiliute-Boydstun, the first- and second-generation American-born offspring of the exiles experienced confusion over *Ateitis* ideology and its place within American society. Though Polikaitis readily defined the ideology of the group as ". . . first, to spread Christian idealism among Lithuanians and, second, to keep Lithuanian language and culture alive in America,"[423] she recognized a major problem among *Studentai* within the *Ateitis* Federation revolved around the question "What is an *Ateitininkas*?" She said that, because "We do not know how to explain why we exist" and "Most of us do not know *Ateitis* ideology," the group has experienced a gradual decrease in active members.[424] She indicated that the Chicago *Studentai* noticed, at the 1984 summer camp, that the Detroit *Studentai* lacked enthusiasm for Lithuanian activities. A few of them pleaded with the Chicago group to help them in the area of morale and commitment, because they were alarmed about their dropping numbers. As a result, the Chicago group devised a plan whereby it invited Detroit members to visit them often, in addition to formal lectures, so that close ties of friendship would ultimately help strengthen their commitment to the *Ateitis* community. A further indication of confusion over ideology was precipitated by the group's goal to "somehow help Lithuania." Polikaitis echoed 1971 JAVLB president Bronius Nainys in that she felt that "It is most important not to separate American and Lithuanian activities and to help Lithuania in ways that Linas Kojelis . . . does." According to her, ". . . Kojelis comes often . . . and lectures to us on politics." She felt that he had the ability to help Lithuania because "His presence in the U.S. government helps them to know that we exist as a nation in occupied Lithuania." Therefore, she saw the group's goal as "not to

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[423]Interview with Dalia Polikaitis, March 25, 1985.

[424]Polikaitis interview, March 25, 1985.

isolate ourselves from America but rather get involved in America to help Lithuania."[425]

In 1984-1985, *Sendraugiai*, composed of middle-aged and retired professionals, was headed by 83-year-old Kazimieras Pabedinskas, a retired electrical engineer who secretly joined the movement during the Czarist era—one of the first young men to be drawn in by Dovydaitis and his cadre.[426] The three hundred fifty Chicago area members hosted a series of Friday evening cultural events, such as poetry readings, guest speakers, and book reviews, which were open to the entire Lithuanian community. Joined by other members from across the United States and Canada, the group held its own two-week camp at *Dainava* where*Sendraugiai* brought along *Jaunuciai* family members, thus maximizing the Lithuanian environment for the young. *Sendraugiai* also organized an annual Christmas Eve dinner—*Kucios*—a Lithuanian tradition. By bringing the *Ateitis* family together in a communal spirit, the group emphasized the preservation of the family.

The Camp *Dainava* experience created conditions for including a Lithuanian spirit within its participants. The annual camp trek exposed the participants to peers from other geographic regions, who shared in the same life cycle, and presented opportunities to strengthen bonds between those American-born Lithuanians who did not have ready access to Lithuanian culture and those from the Chicago area. In addition, the summer camps served as an introduction to programs available during winter and spring vacations when intensive courses in Lithuanian literature, history, and *Ateitis* ideology were offered. Through its stress on academia within a closed life cycle, the organization also created conditions for propinquity. The return to familiar surroundings and the same age group created bonds of friendship that often led to dating, courtship, and marriage within its ranks, thereby fulfilling the "sacred" duties of creating a Lithuanian family in an attempt to preserve culture.

The importance of camp life, carried from one generation to another among those committed to a diaspora, was also expressed by

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[425]Polikaitis interview, March 25, 1985.

[426]Interview with Kazimieras Pabedinskas, January 22, 1984.

youth leader Daiva Barsketis, chairperson of the Central Committee of the *Ateitis* Student Union *(Moksleiviu Ateitininku Sajungos Centro Valdybos Pirmininke)* for the year 1982-1983. Barsketis, a 24-year-old financial analyst who joined the *Ateitis* Federation as a high school student, saw herself as ". . . an American born Lithuanian. At work I speak freely in Lithuanian over the phone in front of my colleagues. . . . Just because I was born in Chicago does not make me either Lithuanian-American or American." She saw Americans as having no culture. Since she came from parents with the same background, they were able to pass on to her a linguistic and cultural identity. She says,

> I am Lithuanian because my parents are Lithuanian. Theirs is a beautiful language and rich culture that Americans from mixed backgrounds do not have. When I marry a man of my own background, our children will attend the same camps with other Lithuanians.[427]

For Barsketis, "*Ateitininkai* meet my psychological needs due to high academic standards, religious and family oriented activities and a stress on Lithuanianism."

During the second week of July 1983, Camp *Dainava* attracted ninety-six *Ateitis Moksleiviai* A questionnaire to measure the strengths and weaknesses of the *Ateitis* Federation, in terms of commitment to a Lithuanian diaspora and to its ideology, was administered during the course of the week (table 8). Of ninety-six campers, ten had already completed the questionnaire elsewhere while seventy-one of the remaining eighty-six returned completed surveys to Barsketis. The survey indicated that, of the seventy-one campers, fifty percent came from the geographic triangle of Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois, with the Chicago area contributing twenty-six percent of the total participants.

When compared to their suburban peers, Chicago's *Moksleiviai* proved the more dynamic group. The Chicago group indicated a higher fluency in language (question 3), read and purchased books more often (questions 6 and 7), and showed a

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[427]Interview with Daiva Barsketis, June 2, 1982.

greater interest in Lithuanian activities outside the youth camp experience (question 12). When asked if "they felt uncomfortable speaking Lithuanian in the presence of non-Lithuanians" (question 14), 50 percent of the Chicago group responded "never" while another 50 percent indicated 2 or 3 on a scale of 1 to 7 with 7 as "always." In contrast, 45 percent of the suburban group indicated "never," 18 percent marked 2 or 3, while the remaining 36 percent responded somewhere on the upper end of the same scale, indicating degrees of embarrassment. A higher percentage of the Chicago group also indicated a "want to marry someone who is Lithuanian speaking" (question 15)—37 percent indicated "definitely yes" and another 62 percent marked 2; in contrast, only 27 percent of the suburban group responded "definitely yes," with 27 percent indicating 2 and another 27 percent and 18 percent marking 3 and 4 respectively. The suburban group also scored much lower on ethnocentricity (question 18) and indicated a lower number of Lithuanian primary friendship groups.

As in the case of the diaspora Saturday Schools (table 5), the *Ateitis* survey indicated a direct correlation between the degree of commitment to diaspora life and language fluency, primary friendship groups and social structure. When the *Ateitis* survey was compared to the Saturday School statistics, however, some interesting differences occurred. Though the questionnaire indicated language erosion in both groups, the *Ateitis* group maintained a high language fluency in spite of geographical isolation/disbursement and showed a large percentage committed toward preservation of a diaspora through family (questions 3, 14, and 15). The *Ateitis* survey also showed a marked difference in attitude toward ethnocentricity (question 18). While 80 percent of the *Ateitis* members surveyed felt that "Lithuanians are more culture-rich than Americans," they generally scored much lower, as a group, on ethnocentricity than either the *Ateitis* members from Chicago or the Chicago area diaspora school youth. Interestingly enough, the number of primary Lithuanian friends seemed to affect ethnocentricity only when the number dropped to one Lithuanian friend or no Lithuanian friends (question 10). The statistics on ethnocentricity (question 18) reflected a more universalist creed in the group's view of people as individuals (as some respondents indicated in writing), and not as part of a community. Consequently, the responses were indicative of a breakdown of the feeling of superiority

rooted in a collective spirit of being a part of something greater than oneself in a largely atomized society. The root of this breakdown of superiority pointed to a misunderstanding of *Ateitis* ideology—that is, the relationship of culture to a religion as developed by the cultural philosopher Stasys Salkauskis.

The responses of 114 *Moksleiviai* to an earlier questionnaire further substantiated the 1983 survey results in terms of degree of commitment by the *Ateitis* group to Lithuanianism (table 9).[428] In 1980, 77% of the 114 respondents indicated "not at all" or "disagree somewhat" to "I am ashamed when my parents speak Lithuanian before my non-Lithuanian friends" while 13 percent took the middle of the scale and another 8 percent indicated either "agree a little" or "agree very much." When asked about degree of desire "to marry a Lithuanian," 65 percent marked "agree very much," 15 percent "agree somewhat," while 15 percent indicated "agree/disagree" and another 3 percent and 1 percent "disagree somewhat" and "disagree very much" respectively.[429] Overall, the 1980 questionnaire indicated erosion in ethnocentricity, primary friendship groups, language fluency and diaspora commitment. In addition, the 1980 questionnaire clearly indicated that the *Moksleiviai* did not understand Salkauskian ideology. For example, to questions about religion, church and God, a great number of respondents felt that "Mass is boring," did not see Mass as the most important part of prayer, felt that attending Mass was not an indication of a good Catholic, rarely read the Scriptures, rarely felt inspired by the sermons at Mass, and felt that *Ateitis* leaders should not increase emphasis on Catholic principles.[430] Only 62 percent indicated they would attend Mass if not told to do so by parents, while over 30 percent felt the church was behind the times in terms of relevancy. Furthermore, when posed questions as to importance of the ideology in relation to the individual's life, only 44

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[428]Vida Musonyte, "Moksleiviu paziuros i lietuviskuma baznycia ir save," *Ateitiss*, 71 (April 1981), 125-7.

[429]Musonyte, "Moksleiviu paziuros i lietuviskuma," 127.

[430]Musonyte, "Moksleiviu paziuros i lietuviskuma," 129.

percent marked "strongly disagree" to the statement that "*Ateitis* ideology is not pertinent to us who are now living in America" while 17 percent somewhat disagreed, 22 percent agreed/disagreed, 11 percent agreed somewhat and 3 percent agreed strongly.[431]

The group indicated further confusion over ideology in its rating of five important aspects of life. On a scale of 1 to 5, with 5 being the highest or most important, 40 percent of the respondents ironically indicated that religion or faith in God was the most important, followed by family (31 percent), education (11 percent), friends (7 percent), and Lithuanianism in last place (2 percent).[432]

The survey results indicated that *Moksleiviai* rated Lithuanianism as the least important aspect in their lives. This fact, when coupled with the answers to the questions on religion and the church, not only substantiated a breakdown in Salkausian ideology within the *Ateitis* Federation but also indicated a move toward assimilation along the lines of pan-Catholicism. The feeling of alienation and lack of "relevancy and purpose," indicative of members dropping out as reflected by the Detroit group and expressed by individual members in 1983 as well as by 1980 survey respondents, reinforced the existence of ideological confusion. In turn, these alienated youth were potential candidates for assimilation because a direct relationship between alienation and assimilation exists in that "Ethnic and host groups are seen as lying at opposite ends of a single continuum."[433] Moreover, the willingness of diaspora youth to allow American politicians of ethnic background to represent diaspora concerns signified confusion. The crossover from a cultural emphasis to political activism outside the "community" broke the ideological paradigm in that it signaled civic assimilation.

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[431]Musonyte, "Moksleiviu paziuros i lietuviskuma," 130.

[432]Musonyte, "Moksleiviu paziuros i lietuviskuma," 130.

[433]Aldis L. Putnins, "Immigrant Adjustment: A Note on Kovacs and Cropley's Model," *Lituanus*, 26 (Winter 1980), p. 51.

"BRIDGING THE GAP": THE *ATEITIS* FEDERATION, THE WORLD LITHUANIAN COMMUNITY AND THE LITHUANIAN ROMAN CATHOLIC FEDERATION OF AMERICA

From 1977, the diaspora community experienced more changes that drew it further toward an American orientation. In an attempt to bridge the gap between first and second wave Lithuanians, a number of PLB and *Ateitis* Federation leaders began to capitalize on the large number of Americans who showed an interest in their ethnic background. To explain this interest, sociologist W. Seward Salisbury used Will Herberg's theory that

> . . . first and second generation Americans, anxious to avoid . . . trait[s] that might brand them as foreign, tried to disassociate themselves from the culture of their immigrant parents. . . . But now that the third and fourth generations have been almost completely assimilated into the American social and economic structure, there has been a tendency to return to the religion [history and culture] of their ancestors—a process which [Marcus Lee] Hansen had described as children trying to remember what their parents tried to forget.[434]

The 1980 census revealed that 742,776 people living in the United States identified themselves as springing from Lithuanian stock. Of these, more than half (54.3 percent) listed themselves from mixed (Lithuanian and non-Lithuanian) heritage (table 10).[435] Census questionnaires from previous decades asked if respondents and their

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[434]W. Seward Salisbury, *Religion in American Culture: A Sociological Interpretation* (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1964), p. 83.

[435]John Kavaliunas, "Kiek Lietuviu J.A.V.?" *Draugas* (July 17, 1983), p. 5. The information was compiled from the Bureau of Census 1980 "Decennial Census of Population and Housing Report, number PHC80-S1-10, Ancestry of American Population," 1-12, by information specialist John C. Kavaliunas of the U.S. Department of Commerce.

parents were foreign born and country of birth, while the last census made it possible for second- and third-generation Americans to list their origins as Lithuanian. However, U.S. census data made no distinction between those committed to a diaspora and those who were Lithuanian-American.

Formal movement toward bridging the gap between diaspora Lithuanians and ethnic Americans of Lithuanian heritage began with the 1977 PLB publication of *Bridges*. Aimed at a target population of American ethnics, the English -language newsletter intended to

> . . . re-establish ties between the detached, mobile Lithuanian-Americans and their Lithuanian heritage by presenting items on Lithuanian culture, conditions in the homeland, events and personalities in America, and the aspirations of all who subscribe to the idea that Lithuania desires to be an independent and free nation again.[436]

By 1978, the *Ateitis* Federation joined the same bandwagon, using the PLB publication to recruit non-Lithuanian speakers for a Lithuanian heritage week held at Camp *Dainava.*

By 1981, individual PLB and *Ateitis* Federation members joined the LRCFA, originally a first wave organization. Due to a lack of new leaders from their own ranks and the aggressive policy of the *Ateitis* Federation to raise a new generation of American-born leaders, the LRCFA acquired a mixed leadership—mixed in the sense that fifty percent of the positions were held by diaspora exiles or their American-born offspring. Though incompatible with LRCFA on an ideological level, the *Ateitis* Federation and the PLB, by way of their individual members, were drawn into the largely English-speaking ethnic organization by virtue of their adherence to Roman Catholicism.

The election of Saulius Kuprys, an attorney for a Catholic-oriented Chicago law firm, as president of the LRCFA further substantiated a diaspora trend toward pan-Catholicism and politics. Using his legal background, Kuprys put himself in a position to change the LRCFA's bylaws in two areas. First, the bylaw in section

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[436]*Bridges* (May 1983), p. 12.

3, paragraph B, stressed the organization's religious ideology: "Advance the spirit of solidarity and harmonious activity among American Lithuanian Catholic organizations. . . ."[437] The bylaw indicated a move by individual representatives of the diaspora community toward pan-Catholicism. Second, he also moved the organization into the political arena through its declaration of "Support reestablishment of religious, human and national rights in Lithuania."[438] In order to put the new bylaws into action, Kuprys helped found the English-language newspaper *The Observer*, in 1983, a publication of the LRCFA with the objective to pool all ethnic Lithuanian Roman Catholics together as well as for political action. In its format, *The Observer* focused on Lithuanian subject matter dealing with Roman Catholicism in the United States and Lithuania. By assuming the posture of guardian of the Lithuanian people—stressing that 85 percent of the population in Lithuania was Roman Catholic—the LRCFA, in effect, easily crossed the invisible line between religious orientation and involvement in politics.

As a member of the *Ateitis* Federation and a founding member of the World Lithuanian Youth Association (PLJS), LRCFA president Kuprys drew prominent members of the Lithuanian community into the staff of *The Observer*. For example, Antanas Saulaitis, fellow founder of the PLJS and new Provincial of Lithuanian Jesuits in North America, served on the editorial staff, while the founder of *Dainava* and past present of the LRCFA, Dr. Adolfas Damusis, served as vice president. Damusis pointed out that he encouraged individuals like Kuprys to take over policymaking positions in the LRCFA in order to draw the Lithuanian-Americans into a greater awareness of Lithuania. He held to the idea that diaspora Lithuanians were safe as long as they retained a high fluency in the native language. Members like Kuprys, however, were individuals by virtue of their acculturation within American society. Immersed in working with first wave Lithuanian Americans outside of his work and in an American environment during work hours, he significantly pointed out that "I am a citizen of the United States but Lithuanianism gives substance to my identity as

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[437]Interview with Saulius Kuprys, June 11, 1983.

[438]Kuprys interview, June 11, 1983.

an individual. I'm Lithuanian in America."[439] Just as in the case of fellow *Ateitis* member Linas Kojelis, also immersed in work outside the community, Kuprys chose freedom of action outside the ideology by stressing individualism.

The LRCFA's move toward a stricter religious orientation and into the realm of politics affected the "community" in several ways. It served to further weaken the LAC as a potential political arm of diaspora Lithuanians. At the same time, it not only carried the *Ateitis* Federation away from its Salkauskian ideology but also caused the PLB to depart from the Lithuanian Charter's guidelines on language and culture. In the process, it created conditions for the linguistic diaspora nationalists to move into the realm of political nationalism and pan-Catholicism, a double melting pot with an end toward assimilation. In light of these developments, the addition of the *Ateitis* Federation's motto—"Renew all in Christ"—to the new provisions of the LRCFA became symbolically significant.

In effect, the network of bilingual activity by several social groups within the Lithuanian community, and between them and the core society, could reasonably be identified as an intermediate group dynamic that had the potential to further shift Lithuanian into a secondary language position among the American-born. Since a Lithuanian identity could not be cultivated without the language, in accordance to a historically evolved linguistic nationalism, the diaspora Lithuanian would be assimilated into American society because he did not live in a communal subsociety either mentally or physically. At the same time, a shift to all-embracing Roman Catholicism moved the Lithuanian toward a non-ethnic universalist church along participating (not cultural) lines.

The policy of the Roman Catholic Church created the conditions for this phenomenon. Rev. Thomas J. Harte, in *Racial and National Parishes in the United States*, observed that

> . . . the official position of the Church on . . . membership in juridical national parishes is clearly to encourage assimilation into a larger community by

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[439]Kuprys interview, June 11, 1983.

> lifting all barriers to affiliation with the territorial parish for those who speak English.[440]

Despite the church's move toward a policy along non-ethnic participating lines, Harte added that

> At the same time . . . the individual's right to make his choice freely is fully guaranteed, and the right of the national or ethnic group to perpetuate its culture is likewise protected.[441]

However, he predicted that "their numerical strength and importance will decline rapidly under present immigration policies."[442] Because the racial and cultural Roman Catholic Church transformed into "an English language pan-Catholicism,"[443] the sense of peoplehood shifted to what social psychologist Kurt Lewin called "interdependence of fate" rather than "similarity or dissimilarity of characteristics of individuals."[444] The church acted "as a solvent for national heritage and stocks" since loss of communality eased the stress of marrying within the linguistic group, by replacing it with "religious endogamy."[445] Thus, without a Lithuanian culture base, "cleavage" would be "along religious lines rather than along nationality lines as in the past."[446]

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[440]Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, p. 199.

[441]Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, p. 199.

[442]Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, p. 200.

[443]Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, p. 217.

[444]Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, p. 30. Gordon quotes Kurt Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflict* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), pp. 163-6, 183-5.

[445]Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, p. 123. Gordon quotes Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, "Single or Triple Melting-Pot? Intermarriage Trends in New Haven, 1870-1940," *American Journal of Sociology*, 45, No. 4 (January 1944), pp. 331-9.

[446]Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, p. 123.

The second wave, with its diaspora ideology dismantled by the younger intermediate group leaders at the Second World Lithuanian Youth Congress—either through acculturation and/or unfamiliarity with Salkauskian ideology—was not far behind in evolving into what Milton M. Gordon called "Ethnic identity of an American," (fig. 5) in which nationality was defined by a politically arrived at citizenship.[447]

By shifting "peoplehood" to a religious base, the Lithuanian would become an American because "Roman Catholic becomes an embracing self-reference category that supplants, if not supersedes, that of individual ethnic identification."[448] Gordon explained that

> . . . Religion and national origins, while both cultural phenomena, are distinctly different institutions which do not necessarily vary concomitantly. However, all of these categories have a common social-psychological referent, in that all of them serve to create, through historical circumstances, a sense of peoplehood . . . recognized in the American public's usage of . . . (Protestant, Catholic, Jew). . . .[449]

By assuming an American political identity and Roman Catholic religious identity, ethnics would be

> . . . assimilated in a much deeper sense, in the sense of a spiritual assimilation . . . a sense which does not include race or ethnic origin but is based upon loyalty to an idea. . . . like religion . . . [which] through its underlying ideological unity . . . produces a cultural and social homogeneity and a common pride in a common future.[450]

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[447]Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, p. 27.

[448]Stein and Hill, *The Ethnic Imperative*, p. 187.

[449]Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, pp. 27-28.

In other words, both the American nationality and the Roman Catholic religion have roots in universalist creeds that ideologically supersede "racial or cultural solidarity."[451]

Since *Bridges* and *The Observer*, both second wave enterprises by those within the PLB and Ateitis Federation fold, reached out to re-establish ties with Lithuanian-Americans through the Roman Catholic religion, the English language and political action, movement toward an "interdependence of fate," within a pan-Roman Catholic "peoplehood," had begun. With a stress on Roman Catholicism, political action, and the English language, neither *Bridges*, "Ethnic heritage camps," nor *The Observer* served as culture bearers for Lithuanianism but rather were clearly designed for an English-speaking, Roman Catholic Lithuanian sentimental ethnic with roots in America. Within this dynamic the "community" would no longer be Tönniesian and the ethnic, as an individual, would be receptive not only to changes of thought patterns but also to linguistic and biological mergers into pan-Roman Catholic America.

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[450]Hans Kohn, *American Nationalism: An Interpretative Essay* (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1957), p. 150.

[451]Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, p. 222.

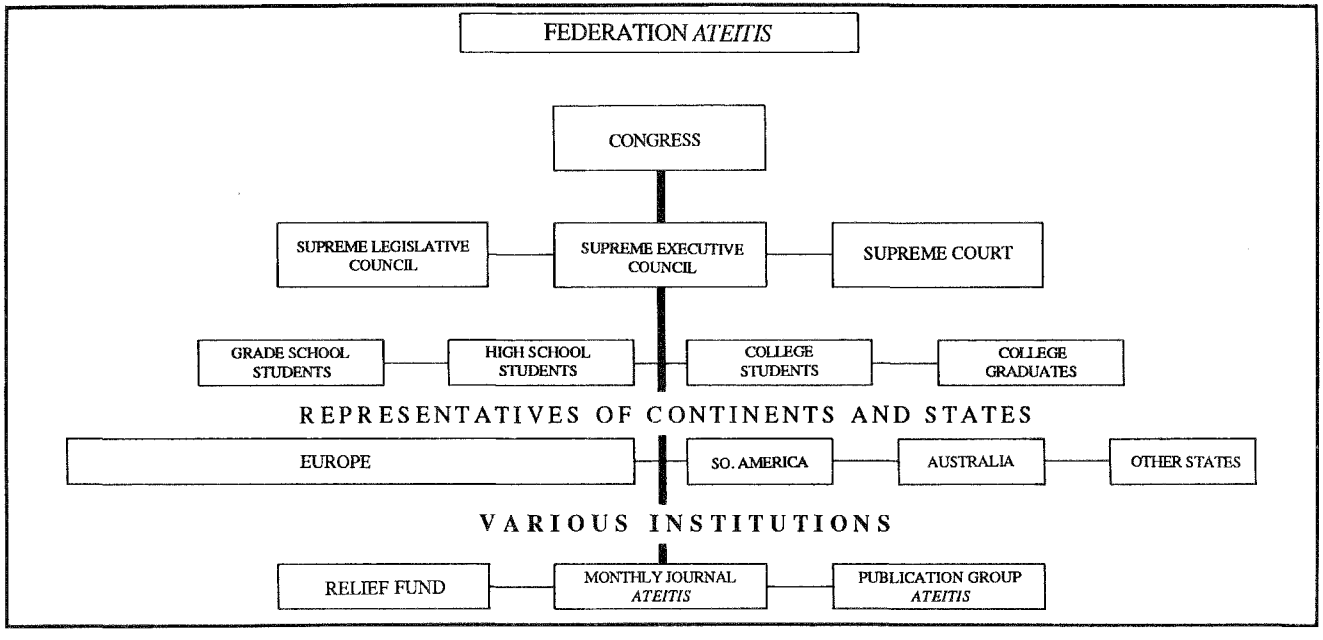


Figure 4. Structure of the *Ateitis* Federation. This flowchart was drawn by Adolfas Damusis, March 1985, at the request of the author. According to Dr. Damusis, this structure has been operative since the organization re-formed in Chicago in 1949. It is common knowledge among members and has never appeared in print (graphic by Kurt McCoy).

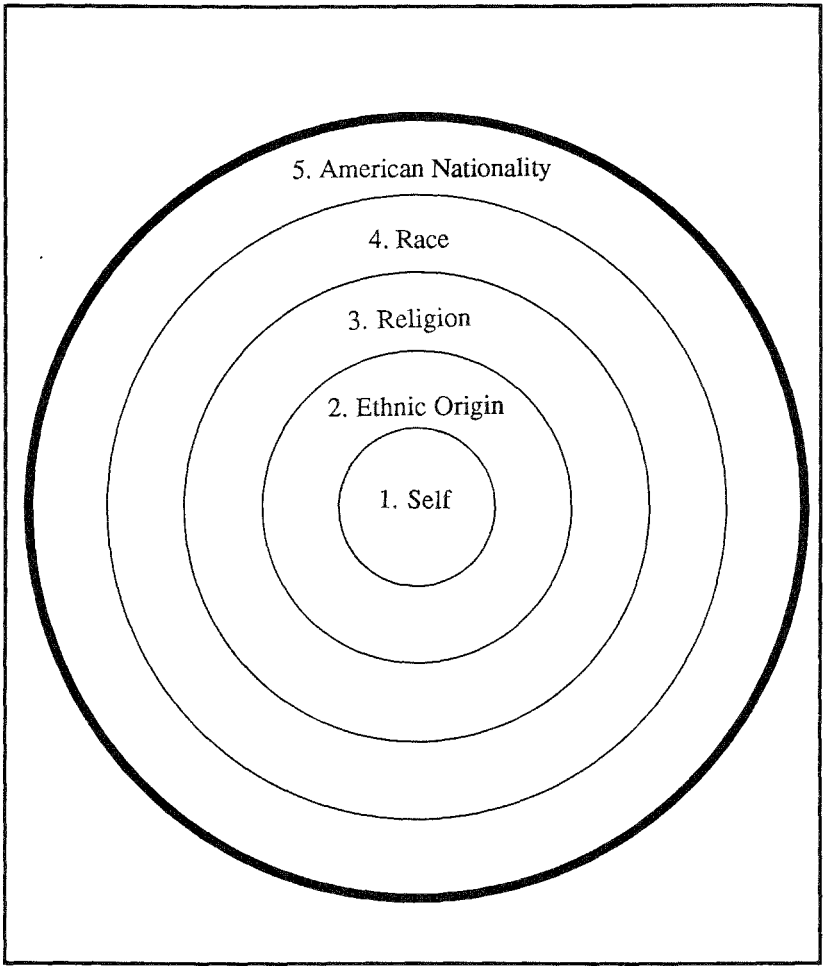
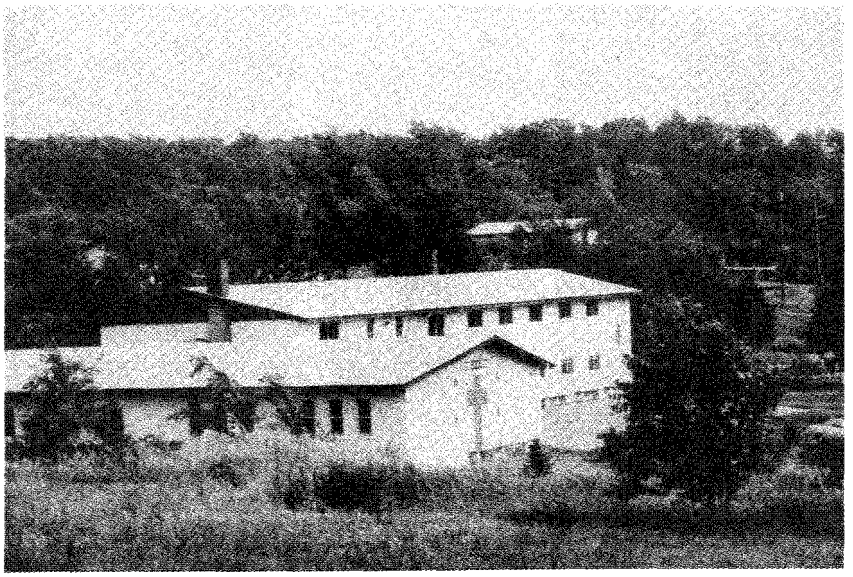
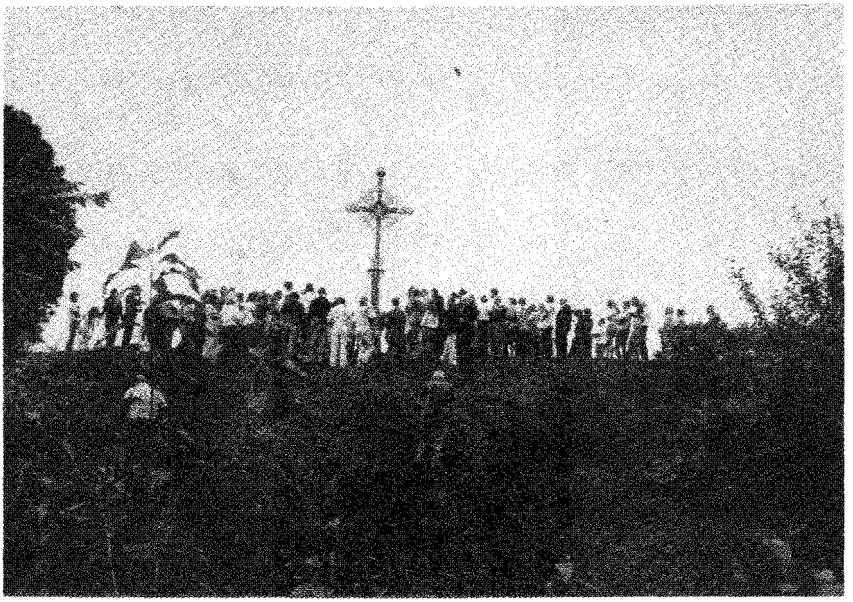


Figure 5. Ethnic identity of an American. 1. Self; 2. Ethnic Origin; 3. Religion; 4. Race; 5. American Nationality. (Source: Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1964], p. 27; graphic by Kurt McCoy).



Damusis Barracks at Camp *Dainava* (photo by Jonas Urbonas).



Jubilee, commemorating sixty-five years of *Ateitis* existence, at Camp *Dainava*, 1975 (photo by Jonas Kuprys).

Table 8. *Ateitis* Federation *Moksleiviai* (High School Age)

	U.S & Ont.	*Chgo*	*Chgo subs.*	*U.S. excl. Il.*	*Ca.*	*Mi.*	*Oh.*	*Rest of U.S.*	*Ont.*	*Prim. 3*	*Lith. 2*	*Friends 1*	*0*
1. *Present city/state of residence:*	100	11	15	58	21	14	10	13	15	45	27	17	11
2. *College education:*													
Father	92	100	73	95	87	100	100	100	91	81	84	100	100
Mother	50	100	45	78	80	80	86	67	45	81	53	75	38
3. *I speak Lithuanian:*													
Not at all	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
A little	4	—	—	5	—	10	—	11	9	3	5	8	—
Fair	27	38	64	15	20	20	14	—	27	19	32	33	25
Fluently	69	62	36	80	80	70	86	89	64	75	63	58	62
I read Lithuanian:													
Not at all	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—
A little	11	13	36	5	—	10	—	11	9	3	10	25	12
Fair	25	25	27	22	20	20	14	33	36	16	37	17	50
Fluently	70	62	36	73	80	70	86	56	55	78	53	50	38
4. *I learned most of my Lithuanian:*													
In Sat. School	11	—	27	10	20	—	14	—	9	16	5	8	50
At home	89	100	73	90	80	100	86	100	73	84	95	92	50
Youth Camp	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18	—	—	—	—
5. *If asked for nationality, I would say:*													
Lithuanian	96	87	91	98	93	100	100	100	100	91	95	72	100
Lith.-Am.	3	13	—	2	7	—	—	—	—	9	5	—	—
American	1	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—

6. *Last year, I read the following number of Lithuanian books:*													
None	27	13	36	20	7	40	—	33	55	16	32	17	50
One	24	37	18	24	13	30	29	33	18	28	26	25	25
Two-five	38	37	36	41	67	30	29	24	27	41	37	33	25
Six-ten	9	13	10	10	13	—	14	11	—	13	—	17	—
Eleven or more	3	—	—	5	—	—	28	—	—	—	5	8	—
7. *Last year, I purchased the following number of Lithuanian books:*													
None	55	50	82	51	40	80	29	56	45	50	48	50	87
One	11	13	—	12	20	—	29	—	18	19	5	17	—
Two-five	31	37	18	32	33	20	42	33	37	28	42	33	13
Six-ten	3	—	—	5	7	—	—	11	—	3	5	—	—
Eleven or more	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8. *I receive at least one Lithuanian:*													
Newspaper	100	100	100	98	100	90	100	100	100	100	100	91	87
Magazine	75	75	54	78	80	70	86	78	82	84	68	67	62
9. *I read the Lithuanian-Language newspaper/magazine:*													
Never	6	13	9	5	7	10	—	—	—	3	—	8	25
Often	36	50	18	39	33	30	70	33	36	44	42	33	13
Rarely	58	37	73	56	60	60	30	67	64	53	58	59	62
10. *My three closest friends are:*													
All Lithuanian	45	75	18	51	73	50	43	23	27	45	—	—	—
Two Lithuanian	27	25	36	17	20	20	14	11	55	—	27	—	—
One Lithuanian	17	—	27	22	—	30	43	33	—	—	—	17	—
All American	11	—	18	10	7	—	—	33	18	—	—	—	11
11. *My parents object to my dating non-Lithuanians:*													
Fiercely	14	37	9	12	20	—	14	12	9	18	16	9	—
Mildly	44	37	27	41	27	50	58	44	73	41	53	50	38
Take no interest	41	25	64	44	47	50	28	44	18	38	32	41	62
Encourage	1	—	—	2	7	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—

Table 8. (*Continued*)

		U.S & Ont.	*Chgo*	*Chgo subs.*	*U.S. excl. Il.*	*Ca.*	*Mi.*	*Oh.*	*Rest of U.S.*	*Ont.*	*Prim. Lith. Friends* 3	2	1	0
12. *I would send my children to:*														
Saturday School		76	100	64	73	40	80	100	100	82	100	79	75	87
Folk dance group		72	87	45	73	40	80	100	100	82	97	79	75	62
Youth Camp		85	87	100	100	40	100	100	100	91	100	95	100	87
None of the above		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13. *If Lithuania regained independence in my lifetime, I would:*														
Resettle in Lith.		10	25	9	7	7	—	30	—	9	16	11	—	—
Vacation in Lith.		90	75	91	93	93	100	70	100	91	84	89	100	100
Take no interest		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
14. *I have felt uncomfortable speaking Lithuanian in the presence of non-Lithuanians:*														
(Never)	1	41	50	45	41	33	30	58	56	27	44	47	33	25
	2	21	37	9	22	27	20	14	22	18	22	21	17	25
	3	10	13	9	5	7	—	14	—	27	9	11	8	13
	4	13	—	9	15	27	20	—	—	18	16	11	—	25
	5	11	—	18	12	—	20	14	22	10	6	5	33	13
	6	1	—	—	2	7	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—
(Always)	7	3	—	9	2	—	10	—	—	—	—	5	8	—
15. *I want to marry someone Lithuanian-speaking:*														
(Definitely yes)	1	41	37	27	46	47	50	44	44	37	53	47	25	—
	2	34	63	27	37	47	30	14	44	9	41	26	33	25
	3	11	—	27	5	—	—	28	—	27	6	16	8	25
	4	14	—	18	12	7	20	14	12	27	—	11	33	50
	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(Dfinitely no)	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
16. *I know Lithuanian history:*														
(Very much)	1	6	13	—	7	13	—	14	—	—	9	—	—	—
	2	17	12	—	22	13	20	72	—	18	25	11	17	—
	3	20	25	9	24	33	10	14	33	10	22	21	25	25
	4	24	25	27	22	13	30	—	45	27	13	42	8	50
	5	23	25	45	15	13	20	—	22	27	25	21	25	13
	6	8	—	18	5	—	20	—	—	18	3	1	25	—
(Very little)	7	2	—	—	5	13	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	12
17. *Christmas wafers ("Plotkeles") are a part of my Christmas:*														
(Always)	1	90	87	54	100	100	100	100	100	100	91	84	100	87
	2	4	—	27	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	5	—	13
	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	4	3	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	—	—
	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	6	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—
(Never)	7	1	13	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—
18. *Lithuanians are more honest than Americans:*														
True		45	62	36	39	33	50	28	45	73	47	47	50	38
False		49	25	64	56	67	50	72	33	27	44	53	33	50
Lithuanians are more culture-rich than Americans:														
True		80	100	55	80	93	70	72	78	91	91	84	67	50
False		17	—	45	15	7	30	28	—	9	9	16	17	38
Lithuanian children have better manners than American children:														
True		55	62	36	51	47	60	42	56	82	56	58	50	50
False		39	25	54	44	53	40	58	22	18	34	42	33	38

Table 8. (*Continued*)

	U.S & Ont.	*Chgo*	*Chgo subs.*	*U.S. excl. Il.*	*Ca.*	*Mi.*	*Oh.*	*Rest of U.S.*	*Ont.*	*Prim. 3*	*Lith. 2*	*Friends 1*	*0*
Lithuanians are more intellectual than Americans:													
True	63	87	27	65	60	50	58	67	100	72	68	50	38
False	32	13	64	37	40	50	42	11	—	22	32	33	50
Lithuanian foods are preferable to American foods:													
True	51	50	36	46	47	50	42	45	82	56	47	33	50
False	45	37	64	49	53	50	58	33	18	38	53	50	38

[1]Numerical values expressed as percents.

Table 9. What is Most Important for *Moksleiviai*?

	5	4	3	2	1	No response
Religion	40%	9%	15%	10%	17%	9%
Lithuanianism	2%	18%	26%	27%	18%	9%
Family	31%	26%	13%	14%	7%	9%
Education and profession	11%	21%	17%	21%	21%	9%
Friends	7%	17%	20%	19%	28%	9%

Moksleiviai were asked to indicate the order of importance of several areas that affected their lives (on a scale of 1 to 5 with 5 indicating the highest or most important). Source: Vida Musonyte, "Moksleiviu paziuros i lietuviskuma, baznycia ir save," *Ateitis* 71 (April 1981), p. 130.

Table 10. Distribution of Lithuanians in the United States During 1980 Census*

State	*Pure Lithuanian*	*Lithuanian and non-Lithuanian (mixed stock)*	*Total*	*Percent of all Lithuanians in the United States*
Illinois	55,476	56,934	112,410	15.1
Pennsylvania	46,841	59,343	106,184	14.3
New York	32,969	39,131	72,100	9.7
Massachusetts	32,354	34,235	66,589	9.0
California	23,582	29,239	52,821	7.1
New Jersey	22,129	26,881	49,010	6.6
Connecticut	20,031	22,380	42,411	5.7
Michigan	16,176	21,181	37,357	5.0
Ohio	13,154	15,566	28,720	3.9
Florida	16,687	11,688	28,375	3.8
Maryland	9,406	11,366	20,772	2.8
Wisconsin	5,820	9,132	14,952	2.0
Indiana	4,090	5,649	9,739	1.3
Texas	3,558	5,776	9,334	1.3
Virginia	3,385	5,713	9,098	1.2
Arizona	3,054	3,354	6,408	0.9
Washington	2,126	3,807	5,933	0.8
Minnesota	2,147	3,467	5,614	0.8
Colorado	1,854	3,600	5,454	0.7
New Hampshire	2,085	3,326	5,411	0.7
Missouri	2,062	3,251	5,313	0.7
Rhode Island	1,704	2,038	3,742	0.5
Maine	1,525	2,063	3,588	0.5
Oregon	1,282	2,112	3,394	0.5
Georgia	1,456	1,831	3,287	0.4
Nebraska	1,500	1,684	3,184	0.4
Iowa	1,175	1,837	3,012	0.4
North Carolina	1,161	1,665	2,826	0.4
Delaware	755	1,339	2,094	0.3
West Virginia	792	1,144	1,936	0.3
Tennessee	605	1,221	1,826	0.2
Kansas	698	1,065	1,763	0.2
Nevada	615	910	1,525	0.2
Kentucky	578	910	1,488	0.2
Washington, D.C.	697	771	1,468	0.2
New Mexico	606	735	1,341	0.2
Oklahoma	594	738	1,332	0.2
Louisiana	489	829	1,318	0.2
Vermont	444	829	1,273	0.2
South Carolina	518	709	1,227	0.2
Arkansas	720	392	1,112	0.1
Alabama	445	611	1,056	0.1
Utah	425	562	987	0.1
Hawaii	332	481	813	0.1
Montana	371	391	762	0.1
Alaska	217	389	606	0.1
Idaho	171	304	475	0.1
Wyoming	179	217	396	0.1
Mississippi	176	190	366	—
North Dakota	99	197	296	—
South Dakota	123	155	278	—
Totals	339,438	403,338	742,776	100.0

* Statistical data on Lithuanians compiled by John C. Kavaliunas, Information Specialist, Data User Services Division of the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. 20233. Kavaliunas prepared: 1980 Census of Population / Ancestry of the Population by State:1980 / Supplementary Report PHC80-S1-10 issued April 1983. U.S. Department of Commerce, Malcolm Baldridge, Secretary, Bureau of the Census: Bruce Chapman, Director. Table 3. Persons Who Reported at Least One Specific Ancestry Group for Region, Divisions, and States: 1980.

CHAPTER 7

LITHUANIAN INVOLVEMENT IN ORGANIZED POLITICAL ACTION

The formation of the Lithuanian American Council, in 1940, resulted from concerns that first wave Lithuanian immigrants and their American born offspring had for the homeland and its exiles in Western Europe. After its successful political activity changed immigration policy toward Lithuanian exiles of World War II, the organization represented both first wave immigrants as well as newly arrived exiles. Its role in the Lithuanian community was defined upon formation of the United States of America Lithuanian Community, or JAVLB, in 1951. At that time, the exiles agreed to work toward the "preservation of Lithuanianism," while the LAC handled political activism.

Between 1951 and 1967, both organizations worked in their appointed areas. During that period of time, both organizations became strongholds for exile political factions reminiscent of those in the homeland. For example, the JAVLB became a preserve of the *Frontininkai* (*Ateitis* activist faction that formed a front against the Soviet occupation of 1941), while the *Tautininkai* (Nationalists) oriented exiles chose to identify with the LAC. Consequently, conflict occurred on two levels: conflict within each of the organizations and between them. By 1971, the two organizations experienced more turmoil. The *Frontininkai*-dominated JAVLB announced formal entrance into American political activism. The liberal interpretation of the Lithuanian Charter, by the *Frontininkai* faction of the JAVLB in the areas of religion and, in particular, political activities, caused VLIK supporters to gravitate to the LAC. However, exile physician Kazys Bobelis, as president of VLIK, held firm to the concept that VLIK—not any LB organ—decided political strategy for diaspora Lithuanians. The ensuing conflict politically disenfranchised both Lithuanian-Americans and the exile community.

THE LITHUANIAN-AMERICAN COUNCIL TODAY

Political factions continued to exist among the exiles and "party" associations were keenly felt. These factional struggles manifested themselves within the LAC, with its eventual takeover by the *Tautininkai*, as well as between it and the *Frontininkai*-dominated JAVLB. Since the younger generation showed little or no interest in the Lithuanian political party system, the LAC did not attract younger members from either the first wave or the diaspora community. The 1980s saw the LAC without any youth organizations or an institutionalized base from which it could draw a new generation of trained leaders to replace its aging members.

The LAC did not maintain records on membership statistics since it did not collect dues.[452] The organization held annual fund-raisers on the Sunday closest to February 16, Lithuanian Independence Day. A collection from the audience and mail solicitation grossed approximately seventy thousand dollars—its operating budget for 1985 until the next Independence Day collection. Though the LAC claimed the membership of thirteen federated national organizations, it did not maintain statistical information on their memberships.[453]

The first of these organizations, the American Lithuanian Roman Catholic Women's Alliance (ALRCWA) responded in the form of a letter from Massachusetts-based national president Julia A. Mack.[454] According to Mack, the total paid-up membership was approximately 2,000 with 300 of these from the Chicago area. In response to an inquiry as to whether membership in the ALRCWA made the person an automatic member of the LAC, she wrote ". . . I would have to say 'no'. The ALRC Women's Alliance is represented on the Lithuanian American Council" with "The representative being

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[452]Interview with Irena Blinstrubas, Office Manager for LAC, February 18, 1985.

[453]Interview with Rev. Dr. Juozas Prunskis, Director of Information for the LAC since its inception in 1940, March 15, 1984.

[454]In an effort to gather membership data and to determine the status of each of the federated national organizations within the LAC, officials were contacted by the author, by letter, in 1983. While exile organizations were contacted in Lithuanian, correspondence with organizations rooted in the first wave was in English.

duly elected at our biannual convention. . . ."[455] No statistics were available as to how many of the 300 Chicago members belonged to the LAC.

The Lithuanian Society of Vilnius Region *(Vilniaus Krasto Lietuviu Sajunga)*, a second wave dominated organization, was also asked to address the question of its membership within the LAC. In a written response, its Central Committee President Albertas Misiunas said that "Our organization is in the LAC compound, but it is not a part of LAC. . . ."[456] Another transplanted organization to express the same view was the Lithuanian Regeneration Association *(Lietuvos Atgimimo Sajunga)*. Its national director, Marijus Blynas, wrote that "We (the LAS) belong to LAC as an organization. As I understand [it], the LAC consists of a group of organizations. . . ."[457] Though the organization published its own newspaper, *Laisvoji Lietuva (Free Lithuania)*, it had no available information on membership.

The American Lithuanian National League (*Amerikos Lieutviu Tautine Sajunga* or ALNL), a remnant of the *Tautininkai* party under State President Antanas Smetona, was another group claimed by the LAC. Its director, Vaclovas Mazeika, indicated that they had 750 members, of which 170 resided in Chicago. In response to the number that belonged to the LAC, Mazeika said that "LAC consists of organizations, not persons. ALNL belongs to the LAC compound; therefore, all members belong to LAC."[458] The salient accomplishment of the organization in the area of culture and history was the forty-five minute film, *Prezidentas Antanas Smetona,* circulated throughout the Lithuanian diaspora in 1980. Mazeika also expressed the potential danger that non-involvement of youth in

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[455]Letter written by Julia Mack, National President of ALRCWA, to author, dated July 22, 1983.

[456]Letter written by Albertas Misiunas, Central Committee President of the Lithuanian Society of Vilnius Region, to author, dated July 27, 1983.

[457]Letter written by Marijus Blynas, National Director, Lithuan-ian Regeneration Association, to author, dated August 2, 1983.

[458]Letter written by Vaclovas Mazeika, National President of American Lithuanian National League, to author, dated July 26, 1983.

diaspora organizations posed. He wrote, "As the new generation matures, receiving its education in this country, it does not join Lithuanian social and/or political organizations." He added, however, that his organization placed its hopes in Neo-Lituania, a national student organization during the era of independence.

The LAC's list also included the Lithuanian Roman Catholic Alliance (LRCA), a beneficent life insurance fraternity organized in 1886 and centered in Pennsylvania. According to President Thomas E. Mack, "Automatically our members are members of LAC."[459] The organization claimed 4,000 members, 592 from Chicago and its suburbs. Leonardas Simutis, who served as its president from 1934 to 1972, was instrumental in drawing the LRCA into the LAC fold in 1940.

The Knights of Lithuania is the largest national organization claimed by the LAC. It was formed as a youth organization, on April 27, 1913, by factory workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts. The Knights of Lithuania consisted of Roman Catholics of Lithuanian ancestry from the first immigration. However, in 1970, it extended associate membership to Catholic non-Lithuanian spouses of ethnic Lithuanians in order to maintain the organization's family tradition. At its peak, in 1921, it had 5,000 members in more than one hundred councils. Since then, Knights of Lithuania membership had declined to 3,804. It saw itself as an American ethnic organization, apart from the Lithuanian diaspora. According to Paul E. Binkis, Jr., a Chicago social worker and trustee of the Knights of Lithuania, the organization

> . . . has very few young members. . . . I find myself addressing senior citizens at meetings. I do not speak Lithuanian. We are an American ethnic organization. Lithuanian speaking younger people . . . have their own organizations.[460]

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[459]Letter written by Thomas Mack, President of Lithuanian Roman Catholic Alliance, to author, dated August 9, 1983.

[460]Interview with Paul E. Binkis, Jr., Trustee of the Knights of Lithuania, August 15, 1983.

In an attempt to clarify the tie between the Knights of Lithuania and the LAC, national president Loretta I. Stukas wrote that "The Knights of Lithuania, as an organization, belongs to LAC. LAC is an umbrella organization of organizations. Therefore, there are not individual memberships.[461] In 1983, the Knights of Lithuania had 800 members from the Chicago area, with 750 of the total in the senior citizens category. The remaining fifty operated as junior members in two youth councils—one in Marquette Park and the other in Brighton Park—who had an organized folk dance group that used English as the language of communication. Since the LAC did not incorporate youth activities, these young people had no contact with the organization.

The LRCFA denied its membership within the LAC. When Leonardas Simutis served as president of both the LRCFA and the LAC during the 1940s and early 1950s, the LRCFA had become an organizational member of the LAC. Executive officer Saulius Kuprys explained that LRCFA members "may, as individuals, attend LAC executive meetings."[462] The LRCFA sent, until recently, nominal representation to LAC meetings. Kuprys, however, opposed the LAC on the grounds that it "does not represent Lithuanian interests" and is nothing more than a "paper organization."

In addition to the aforementioned organizations, the list included the Lithuanian American Democratic League—an organization "active only on paper" since it had approximately twenty members scattered across the United States.[463] According to its president, Stanley Balzekas, Jr., its original function was to work with the local and national Democratic Party and its various candidates. After the deaths of Judge Zuris and the founders of the LAC and the Democratic League, however, the era of Lithuanian-American participation in American politics ended.

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[461]Letter written by Loretta I. Stukas, National President of Knights of Lithuania, to author, dated August 16, 1983.

[462]Interview with Saulius Kuprys, LRCFA President, June 3, 1983.

[463]Interview with Stanley Balzekas, Jr., President of Lithuanian American Democratic League, September 7, 1983.

Of the thirteen organizations contacted, eight responded to the inquiry about their relationship with the LAC. The majority indicated that what the LAC called its membership was nothing more than remnant ties with organizations that joined it to form a strong political coalition, either in 1940 or the early 1950s, in order to influence congressional and presidential policy toward Lithuanian exiles and their homeland. Exile control of the LAC left Lithuanian-Americans without an ethnic political action group. Furthermore, the LAC's external struggle with the JAVLB and its naiveté about American coalition politics isolated it from the main body of the Lithuanian community. Thus, American politicians did not take the LAC or the JAVLB seriously since

> . . . Only through coalition politics . . . can a new group be successful at the higher levels in pluralistic polyglot America. . . . politics must go beyond the internal unity of one group . . . [since] the role of politics is to unify all groups in a society, to manage conflict between groups.[464]

Isolated from those within the JAVLB and lacking numerical strength and financial resources as well as a familiarity of American coalition politics, the LAC became ineffective in the areas of intergenerational relations and ethnic solidarity politics.

LITHUANIANS AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The failure of the LAC and the JAVLB to enter coalition politics caused Lithuanian-Americans and individuals in the diaspora to look for ethnic spokesmen within the American political arena through the Lithuanian American Republican League of Illinois, originally created by Anthony Olis. The league was part of the Lithuanian-American Republican National Federation, headed by Lithuanian-American Anatole Milunas. Chairman of the Republican Party of Illinois was Dom Adams (Adomaitis), a descendant of first

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[464]Kantowicz, *Polish-American Politics in Chicago*, p. 218.

wave Lithuanians. While the number of exile Lithuanians who had decided to enter politics in a hyphenated American organization was modest, no similar Democratic club for Lithuanian-Americans existed in contrast to earlier decades studied by University of Chicago student John Patrick White.

In 1984, one of the main organizers for the Republican Party was Algis Regis, a charismatic figure in numerous JAVLB projects. Though an activist within the exile community, Regis' background differed from either wave. Coming to the U.S. as a college student in the late 1930s before the Soviet invasion, Regis spent the war years in the U.S. Army and took part in the Allied invasion of Europe at Normandy. Thus, his background enabled him to act as a bridge between the Lithuanian community and the greater American society. When he entered ethnic politics two decades ago, several hundred exiles followed suit. Regis' stand on politics had an apparent American flavor to it. As past chairman of the Lithuanian-American Republican League of Illinois, he saw his job as twofold:

> We have the same ideology as the Republican Party in addition to the responsibility of representing the Lithuanian community. . . . We are concerned, as Lithuanians and Republicans, that the principles of the party and American democracy are applied to and practiced by all factions. . . . We also want that freedom to be extended to the rest of the world with specific interest in the country of our descent, Lithuania. . . .[465]

In 1984-1985, the Chicago chapter had approximately 200 to 300 members. While the exile generation did not go beyond the level of presenting petitions on behalf of Lithuania, diaspora ranks sent two of its people—Valdas Adamkus and Linas Kojelis—into the Republican party.

The Chicago chapter of the Republican Party produced the highest political appointment for a Lithuanian of the second wave—Valdas Adamkus. As an engineering student at the Illinois Institute of

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[465]Regis interview, February 22, 1983.

Technology in 1960, Adamkus was instrumental in amassing 40,000 signatures requesting congressional intercession in aiding Lithuanian prisoners in Siberia.[466] He led a group of young Lithuanian students in this project and presented the petition to then Vice President Richard M. Nixon. Adamkus became a political organizer for the Republican Party and, under President Ronald Reagan, secured the position of administrator of Region V of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). On November 18, 1984, the Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture named Adamkus "Man of the Year for 1984." According to Stanley Balzekas, Jr., the committee, in its selection of Adamkus, looked

> . . . for people who have made outstanding contributions in terms of their Lithuanian heritage . . . [and] in terms of positive social changes that affect everyone.

The committee felt that "He had made and continues to make environmental contributions that positively affect our city, our state and our country . . . . He also actively works for the freedom of Lithuania" by pointing out during "environmental conferences in the Soviet Union that he is of Lithuanian heritage and that the Lithuanians of the United States are concerned about the fate of Lithuania . . . ."[467] Though the Lithuanian community respected Adamkus, he had crossed over and had been accepted by Lithuanian-American ethnics.

The most visible political appointment within the diaspora community was Linas Kojelis, a member of the JAVLB and the *Ateitis* Federation. In 1983, Kojelis became Assistant Director of Ethnic Affairs at the White House under President Ronald Reagan. In contrast to Adamkus, Linas Kojelis, as an active member of the

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[466]"Valdas Adamkus," in *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, Vol. I. (South Boston, Massachusetts: Lituanica Press, 1972), p. 16.

[467]Interview with Stanley Balzekas, Jr., February 25, 1985. Also "*Lituanus* Data Bank," *Lituanus* (Fall 1989) 94. In 1989, the University of Vilnius awarded Adamkus an honorary doctorate for his international efforts on behalf of the environment.

diaspora community, had the potential to draw in the exile community's young voters. Arunas Pemkus, national leader of the *Ateitis* Federation's Student Association and a close friend of Kojelis, also appeared on the political scene as a coordinator for President Reagan's 1985 Inauguration Day festivities. Consequently, Kojelis and Pemkus served as role models for their familiars within the *Ateitis* Federation and the PLJS.

The Kojelis-Pemkus commitment to politics indicated civic assimilation through self-identification with a non-tribal collective possession—namely the political cultural heritage of America. By embracing the "natural," the immigrant embraced an ideological view that did not recognize cleavages along tribal, racist or religious lines. In turn, this concept moved the immigrant closer to Americanization and a nationality cemented by a "spiritual transformation . . . based upon loyalty to an idea"[468] which is "quantitatively and qualitatively unique in the case of the United States."[469] *The Washington Times*, on March 8, 1985, illustrated Kojelis' degree of assimilation in that he ". . . considers the contribution he can make to the country as a Lithuanian-American more important than merely preserving his ethnic language and culture." He articulated that "Preserving the culture is the job of Lithuanians in Lithuania. What they can't do is [practice] political activism and civil disobedience. We can help them with that."[470] By identifying himself as a Lithuanian-American and by placing the Lithuanian language and culture in a secondary position, Kojelis experienced a spiritual transformation based upon loyalty to an idea—a representative trend within the diaspora community. Even though his "particularistic group identity" of Lithuanian-American "is retained" in order to create "internal differentiation, . . . political activism attempts to override these distinctions and forge a new entity. . . ." whereby the word *ethnic* becomes an embracing self-

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[468]Kohn, *American Nationalism*, p. 150.

[469]Kohn, *American Nationalism*, p. 146.

[470]Kathleen Tyman, "High Soviet Leader Draws Ire of Young Baltic-Americans," *The Washington Times* (March 8, 1985), p. 48.

reference category that supplements, if not supersedes, that of individual ethnic identification."[471]

[471]Stein and Hill, *The Ethnic Imperative*, p. 187.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

In order for Lithuanians to exist within a closed community, they had to operate outside the doctrine of individual rights. That is, the Lithuanian identity had to be immune to American state ideology and, indeed, possess an ideology of equal potency with its own version of a "natural rights" credo. Therefore, it was possible to see those who adhered to a Tönniesian community as ideologically unassimilative. As long as Lithuanians in America based themselves in an integral national framework through linguistic nationalism in which "national" meant Lithuanian national, there was no ideological room for an American definition of nationality. This also explained the concept that a Lithuanian was still a Lithuanian, regardless of place of birth, as the Lithuanian Charter points out.

In the final analysis, Salkauskian ideology gave diaspora Lithuanianism a counter model construct that was at variance with both American and Roman Catholic universalism in the rarified air of first principles. It provided a ready formula to operate a parallel mental system to the American model, complete with a superiority complex potency, since both Lithuanianism and Americanism had the power of bringing people "under the spell of the great national suggestion."[472] Its cultural distinctiveness did not adhere to popular culture, which was the milieu of the blue- and white-collar ethnic. As long as the superiority complex was strong, thinking was done in terms of a collective group. The superiority complex was only operative, however, if a counter tradition was intellectually reconstructed outside the mental parameters of the dominant culture. That is, a viable ethnic group had to operate on principles other than mass popular culture with its own version of the national rights credo. The first wave Lithuanian immigrants, largely a blue- and white-collar class, did not have this option for it was permeated by dominant norms rooted in individuality. Since the first wave moved in a world of popular culture

[472]Myrdal, *An American Dilemma:*, p. 4.

without a high culture of its own, it was a transient group in the latter stage of assimilation through intermarriage and language transfer. Thus, for an assimilated ethnic to take a collective stance on the issue of intermarriage was an infringement on personal rights. Furthermore, proficiency in a language other than English would be a norm outside the confines of the popular culture of the assimilated blue- and white-collar ethnic, who was an individual with advanced ideas not tied to the old country.

In contrast, diaspora Lithuanians were able to operate as an autonomous group because of an intelligentsia with high motivational levels to reconstruct a parallel mental system that would operate outside the dominant intellectual construct. By opposing the ideological definition of an American as an individualist and a universalist, Salkauskian ideology formulated a parallel mental system based on a superiority complex operative in high culture and created conditions for the subsociety to avoid assimilation. Salkauskian ideology called into being a particularistic cultural history in support of nature and religion. By enthroning linguistic nationalism, it placed a tribal base on par with religion and, in the process of harmonizing the particularistic culture with a universal faith, it changed the universalist religion into a national religion. In essence, Salkauskian ideology rested on culture that elevated nature and religion, which, in turn, elevated it. This religion was not open to question because it was natural and in harmony with God's religion. In essence, then, Salkauskis enlisted nature and God in support of an overpowering cultural religion.

While diaspora nationalism made sense as a concept to preserve the Lithuanian on a temporary basis in the uncertain climate of post-World War II European displaced persons camps, the attempt to root it in the United States, where nationality and citizenship were the same, revealed a misreading or lack of understanding in the rarified air of first principles. Because America recognizes only "immigrants" and not an "exile community," as dictated by American first principles, the emigré generation had an ideological problem of attempting to pass on a particularistic creed rooted in Eastern Europe to a pluralistic society that did not start out with one common folk or national origin. An internal mental migration, leading to an American creed, has no barrier because America, unlike historic Russia, does not "lack of an inner moral cultural unity, which . . . [is] needed in

order to win over and assimilate the alien elements within."[473] Given the historic differences, the only option for avoiding "assimilation" or "national suicide," [474] was the creation of a "Reserve Lithuania" in an underpopulated, underdeveloped area, as targeted by the geographer Kazys Pakstas. The Jews, another diaspora-minded people from Europe, did this. Finding themselves in displaced persons camps, the Jews migrated en mass to Palestine, originally selected

> . . . not for historic or religious reasons, but because it lay undeveloped, with a native population that had not yet crystallized into a socio-economic organism.[475]

Both Palestine and British Honduras were under British control. While the Palestine situation was complex due to rising Arab nationalism and Middle East politics, the British Honduras option appeared to have been plausible based on contact between colonial officials and Pakstas. The Lithuanian exile community, predominantly middle class, however, was attracted to a largely middle class country—the United States. Choosing to become "immigrants" to America, instead of facing hardship and uncertainty as a pioneer people in an underdeveloped country, sealed the fate of Lithuanian diaspora nationalism before the actual regrouping on this side of the Atlantic.

Ultimately, the viability of a Lithuanian diaspora did not rest on the ability to create a network of "isolated fortresses"[476] geared to perpetuate Lithuanianism, but instead on its ability or lack of ability to harmonize with the dominant American creed in the realm of first principles. At root is the concept of what is "natural" as a definition of

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[473]Edward C. Thaden, *Conservative Nationalism in Nineteenth Century Russia* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), p. 153.

[474]Urofsky, *American Zionism from Herzl to the Holocaust*, p. 122.

[475]Urofsky, *American Zionism*, p. 34.

[476]Mann, *The One and the Many*, p. 177.

nationality and Salkauskian "national individuality." Because the leadership within the diaspora did not understand its own ideology, it was incapable of perpetuating "the spell of" a Lithuanian national individuality. At the same time, the *Ateitis* faction of the diaspora—bearers of Salkauskian national individuality—failed to pass on their ideology by confusing it with universalism. The apparent inability to engage in intellectual definitions of what is "natural" and to grasp its own ideology in which a national individuality was in harmony with Roman Catholicism created fertile ground for American Roman Catholicism to make sole claim on Lithuanian Roman Catholics. By mentally migrating from Salkauskian thought, they created conditions for the gradual weakening of the diaspora. In turn, their transplanted institutions failed to immunize the younger generation from the host society's definition of naturalness and, upon reaching maturity, they created their own ethnic and politically oriented organizations. As the carriers of Lithuanianism beyond the emigré generation, they became a transient group unable to counter the American ideology on an intellectual level in order to harmonize Lithuanianism with Americanism.

The 1980 and 1983 surveys indicated a breakdown in the diaspora's superiority complex, which, in turn, suggested a shift from the "natural" cultural religion to the "natural rights" of the American civic religion in which the definition of nationality was in harmony with a pluralistic society. With a weakened collectivist approach to the host society, national individuality deteriorated, allowing diaspora Lithuanians to mentally migrate toward the American creed. Once individuals internalized the civic religion, they internalized the given definition of "natural," which then opened the door to loosening linguistic ties, since they entered a "nationality" that was, at base, spiritually individualist and universalist. The result was a one-way transfer out of the diaspora, regardless of a siege mentality, by becoming hyphenated Americans in which "the hypen connects instead of separates" as a sense of "peoplehood" switches.[477] The true passport towards an internalized American identity could not be long delayed.

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[477]Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, p. 141.

As individuals within the diaspora, *Ateitis* members led the World Lithuanian Community, the *Ateitis* Federation, the Lithuanian Roman Catholic Federation of America, and the World Lithuanian Youth Association into political activities, as well as an ethnic orientation, by way of a Catholic identify. Formal movement toward bridging the gap between diaspora Lithuanians and ethnic Americans of Lithuanian heritage also encouraged the acceptance of the American language since it was not perceived as a personal or group threat to those entering a transition stage in transference of both personal and cultural (linguistic) norms of the host society. Consequently, alienation and the move toward politics and an ethnic orientation by way of pan-Catholicism only served to weaken the diaspora community—the embodiment of the second and most fundamental step in Salkauskian ideology.

APPENDIX 1

VINCENTAS LIULEVICIUS, UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENT OF STATISTICS ON LITHUANIAN DISPLACED PERSONS SCHOOLS FROM 1945 TO 1949

Zone	*No. of schools*	*No. of teachers*	*Pupils*
	1945-1946 SCHOOL YEAR		
Kindergartens			
American	31	49	1,070
English	32	52	942
French	8	9	122
Totals	71	110	2,134
Elementary schools			
American	46	180	1,914
English	51	132	1,931
French	15	15	242
Totals	112	327	4,087
Progimnasia			
American	8	89	342
English	6	54	160
French	—	—	—
Totals	14	143	502
Gymnasia			
American	10	275	1,500
English	7	141	841
French	3	39	101
Totals	20	455	2,442
Special schools			
American	—	—	—
English	1	27	81
French	—	—	—
Totals	1	27	81
	1946-1947 SCHOOL YEAR		
Kindergartens			
American	37	59	1,131

Zone	*No. of schools*	*No. of teachers*	*Pupils*
English	31	52	1,272
French	8	9	110
Totals	76	120	2,513
Elementary schools			
American	46	173	1,973
English	45	132	1,813
French	17	48	265
Totals	108	353	4,051
Progimnasia			
American	10	113	295
English	7	46	232
French	2	22	40
Totals	19	181	567
Gymnasia			
American	11	402	1,544
English	10	185	967
French	3	62	184
Totals	24	649	2,695
Special schools			
American	1	15	20
English	4	64	117
French	2	30	95
Totals	7	109	232
	1947-1948 SCHOOL YEAR		
Kindergartens			
American	30	60	1,107
English	79	68	985
French	7	20	188
Totals	116	148	2,280
Elementary schools			
American	36	170	1,826
English	45	143	1,563
French	16	51	266
Totals	97	364	3,655

Zone	*No. of schools*	*No. of teachers*	*Pupils*
Progimnasia			
American	9	120	344
English	4	44	129
French	2	41	36
Totals	15	205	509
Gymnasia			
American	11	282	1,478
English	11	184	920
French	3	62	215
Totals	25	528	2,613
Special schools			
American	1	15	50
English	3	29	211
French	3	40	88
Totals	7	84	349
IN THE BEGINNING OF 1948-1949 SCHOOL YEAR			
Kindergartens			
American	23	53	975
English	35	55	816
French	3	7	144
Totals	61	115	1,935
Elementary schools			
American	30	147	1,737
English	37	122	1,699
French	12	27	255
Totals	79	296	3,691
Progimnasia			
American	6	82	247
English	3	26	64
French	2	20	43
Totals	11	128	354
Gymnasia			
American	11	243	1,466
English	12	187	836

Zone	*No. of schools*	*No. of teachers*	*Pupils*
French	3	57	202
Totals	26	487	2,504
Special schools			
American	1	21	41
English	3	32	111
French	1	7	61
Totals	5	60	213
		JULY 18, 1949	
Kindergartens			
American	16	54	695
English	25	28	651
Totals	41	82	1,346
Elementary schools			
American	22	99	1,228
English	30	67	1,598[a]
Totals	52	166	2,826
Gymnasia			
American	8	104	556
English	7	91	625
Totals	15	195	1,181
Special schools			
American	1	14	36
English	1	11	157
Totals	2	25	193
Pinneberg-Hamburg University	—	10	100
In German universities[1]	—	—	200

[a] *Progimnasia* included.

[1] American Zone, Frankfurt County and Munich not included.

APPENDIX 2

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF BRITISH HONDURAS AND THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MENNONITE CHURCHES OF CHIHUAHUA, MEXICO

1. a) The Government of the British Honduras agrees to grant the Mennonites the privileges of running their own schools and churches in their own German language;
   b) exempt them from taking the customary immigration deposits; and
   c) give protection of life and property in peace and war as is afforded to its own citizens.

2. The Government of the British Honduras further agrees to grant the following concessions to the Mennonites:
   a) freedom from direct (i.e., combatant) military service;
   b) the privilege of not taking the oath or a sworn declaration in the courts or in government offices. Instead of an oath or sworn declaration, a solemn affirmation will be accepted such as: "I . . . do solemnly, sincerely and truly declare and affirm that the evidence I shall give shall be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth";
   c) freedom of movement to enter or to leave the country after complying with the current immigration and currency exchange regulations;
   d) freedom to organize an economic and social system and administration of estate up to the point where the laws of the country do not apply and thereafter in accordance with the laws of the country;
   e) freedom to bring into this country the old, infirm and invalid members of the Mennonite Community provided that these individuals do not become a charge on the government of this country; and
   f) exemption from a future social security or compulsory system of social insurance.

3. It is understood that the Mennonites will pay current duties, taxes, fees and charges by law established, such as customs duty, land tax, property tax and income tax.

4. The Mennonites agree to finance their immigration, paying transportation, paying for purchase of land, cost of establishing a farming community and other related costs; and they will in no way become charges to the government or to the people of this country.

5. The Mennonites agree to bring into this country capital investment in cash and kind amounting to over one million dollars, B.H. currency.

6. The Mennonites agree to produce food not only for themselves but for the local consumption and for the export market.

7. It is clearly understood that the Mennonites will not conclude purchase-sale transactions for land until conditions set out in section 2 of this memorandum of agreement are granted to the Mennonites by the British Honduras Government.

Government of
British Honduras

Representatives of
the Mennonites

APPENDIX 3

GEOGRAPHICAL DISPERSION OF DISPLACED PERSONS' SCHOOLS

The following reflects the geographical dispersion of the various displaced persons' schools:

Kindergartens:

Augsburg-Haunstetten, Augsburg-Hochfeld, Bad-Wörishofen, Blomberg, Dillingen, Dinkelsbühl, Dresden, Eckenförde, Eichstätt, Eutin, Flenburg-Mützelburg, Glückstadt, Greven, Gunzenhausen, Haag, Hanau Ingolstadt, Itzehoe, Kempten, Kiel, Klein Wittensee, Landshut, Lehrte, Maxhütte, Meerback, Memmingen, Mühldorf, München, Ravensburg, Reppner, Rothenburg, Traunstein, Unterlenningen, Wagenreuth, Wattenstedt, Wedel, Wehnen, Weiden

Grammar schools:

Amberg, Augsburg-Haunstetten, Augsburg-Hochfeld, Bad-Aiblingen, Bad-Wörishofen, Bodenteich, Clausthal, Deisen, Dillingen, Dindelsbühl, Eichstätt, Ekenförde, Eutin, Freiburg (Breisgau), Geretsried, Glückstadt, Gross. Heseppe, Gunzenhausen, Hallendorf, Hannover, Illertissen, Ingolstadt, Itzehoe, Kempten, Kiel, Lanshut, Lehrte, Lübeck, Maxhütte, Meerbeck, Memmingen, Mittenwald, Mühldorf, Munchen, München-Fürstenried, München-Lohengrin, München-Waldfriedhof, Mun, Nördlingen, Nürnberg-Ansbach, Oberlenningen, Oker, Oldenburg, Passau, Ravensburg, Regensburg, Regensburg-Scheinfeld, Rosenheim, Seedorf, Stade, Tirschenreuth, Wagenreuth, Wattenstedt, Wedel, Wehnen, Weiden, Weissenburg

Junior-Senior high:

Amberg, Ansbach, Augsburg, Bad-Mergentheim, Bamberg-Garmisch, Blomberg, Braunschweig-Wattenstedt, Buxtehude, Detmold, Dillingen, Camp Mongomery-Dörverden (Verden County), Eichstätt, Göttingen, Greven, Gross Heseppe, Hanau, Hannover, Ingolstadt, Kempten, Klein-Wittensee, Lehrte, Lübeck,

Meerbeck, Memmingen, München-Freiman, München-Lohengrin, Neumünster, Oldenburg, Ravensburg, Regensburg-Scheinfeld, Rosenheim, Schweinfurt, Seligenstadt, Spackenberg, Tübingen, Weiden, Wiesbaden, Wolterdingen, Wunsiedel, Würzburg

Cultural, professional, commercial:

Germany

Ansbach (commercial), Celle (Hannover), Detmold—kindergarten teacher, Eichstätt—seminary for priests, Flensburg—navigation, Hamburg D.P. University, Ravensburg—Commerical High School, Stuttgart—school of drivers,Wiesbaden School—medical and sanitation, Würzburg—school of education for adults

Austria

Lithuanian University in Innsbruck—Vincas Kreve High School, Salzburg Lithuanian University—Lithuanian Colony courses.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ALRCWA	American Lithuanian Roman Catholic Women's Alliance
ALNL	American Lithuanian National League *(Amerikos Lietuviu Tautine Sajunga)*
AOA	American Overseas Aid
BALF	*Bendrasis Amerikos Lietuviu Salpos Fondas* (United Lithuanian Relief Fund of America)
CARE	Cooperative for American Remittance to Europe, Inc.
ICEM	Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Emigrants from Europe
IRO	International Refugee Organization
JAVLB	*Jungtines Amerikos Valstybes Lietuviu Bendruomene* (United States of America Lithuanian Community)
LB	Lithuanian Community *(Lietuviu Bendruomene)*
LAC	Lithuanian-American Council
LCC	Lithuanian Chamber of Commerce
LF	Lithuanian Foundation
LOK	*Amerikos Lietuviu Bendruomenes Laikinasis Organizacinis Komitetas* (American-Lithuanian Community Temporary Organizational Committee)
LRCA	Lithuanian Roman Catholic Alliance
LRCFA	Lithuanian Roman Catholic Federation of America
LTB	*Lieutviu Tremtiniu Bendruomene* (Lithuanian Exile Community)

NCRC	National Catholic Resettlement Council
NCWC	National Catholic Welfare Conference
NKVD	People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs
PLB	*Pasaulio Lietuviu Bendruomene* (World Lithuanian Community)
PLIAS	*Pasaulio Lietuviu Inzinieriu ir Architektu Sajunga* (World Lithuanian Engineers and Architects Association)
PLJS	*Pasaulio Lietuviu Jaunimo Sajunga* (World Lithuanian Youth Association)
RLB	*Reorganizuota Lietuviu Bendruomene* (Reorganized Lithuanian Community)
RM	Reich Mark
SACMED	Supreme Allied Commander Mediterranean Theatre
SHAEF	Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force
TT	*Tautos Taryba* (National Council)
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
VLIK	*Vyriausias Lietuvos Islaisvinimo Komitetas* (Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania)
VLK	*Vyriausias Lietuvos Komitetas* (Supreme Lithuanian Committee)

LITHUANIAN SPELLING

Because of design constraints inherent in font styles manufactured by different software companies and limitations imposed by word processing programs, encoding ASCII or keyboard combinations into words having Indo-European linguistic symbols or diacriticals is not always handled successfully by a laser printer. Unless the character is resident within the typeface (for example umlauts are produced in Times type by using the option key + u character and then striking the desired vowel) font integrity may be lost when justification or italics are used. Often the word is no longer legible because of overstrikes and displaced character combinations.

Therefore, I have chosen to list separately spellings of key words and phrases used throughout the book, using a single unjustified column of type.

The reader will notice that some generalization can be made regarding the spelling of Lithuanian words. The "v" or hacek sometimes appears over upper and lower case "c," "s," and "z" characters. A macron (¯) sometimes appears over upper and lower case "u" characters and the back cedille (¸) can be present in "a," "e," and "i," depending on sound and the case.

Adomaitis, Šernas
Adomėnas, Lilija Nastonas
Ališauskas, Arūnas
A.L.R.K. kunigų vienybės metraštis 1941
Ambrozevičius, Juozas
Amerikos Lietuvių Bendruomenės Laikinasis Organizacinis Komitetas
Amerikos Lietuvių ekonominė veikla
Amerikos Lietuvių politika: John P. White studijos
"Lithuanians and the Democratic Party" santrauka ir komentarai
Amerikos Lietuvių Prekybos Bendrovė
Amerikos Lietuvių Taryba: 30 metų Lietuvos laisvės kovoje 1940-1970
Amerikos Lieutvių Tautinė Sąjunga
Ansbacho Lietuvių Progimnazija: 1945-1947
Anykščiai
Asmuo ir istorija: mūsų idejos dabarties šviesoje
Ateitininkiška krikščionybė
Ateitininkų ideologija

Katalikiškumas
Katiliūtė-Boydstun, Dalia
Kaupiškis, Mound
Kavaliūnas, John C.
Kazimieras Būga: gyvenimas ir darbai
Kazimiera Kaupaitė-Motina Maria: Švento Kazimiero Seserų Kongregacijos steigėja
Kazys Pakštas: tautinio šauklio Odiseja 1893-1960
Kemėšis, Fabian S.
Kęstutis Loan and Building Association No. 1.
Ketvirtasis Mokslo ir Kūrybos Simpoziumas / Fourth Lithuanian Symposium on Arts and Sciences
Klaipėda
Kliorė, Arvydas
"Kodėl ALTA ir Bendruomenė nesutaria?"
Kokios mūsų priedermės, siekiai ir keliai prie jų?
Končius, Joseph
Kraučiūnas, Matas
"Krikščioniškoji politika ir gyvenamoji valanda"
Krupavičius, Mykolas
Kūčios
"Kun. A. Staniukynos biografija"
"Kun. A. Staniukyną prisiminus"
"Kun. A. Staniukyno nuopelnai kunigų vienybei"
Kun. Ylos Ateitininkų futurologiją apžvelgiant ir vertinant
Kuomi mes savę vadiname ir kodėl?
Kučas, Antanas
Kuršaitis (Kurschat), Friedrich

Laisvoji Lietuva
Laučka, Joseph
Lietuvis savo tautoje, valstybėje, bendruomenėje: mintys tautiniam ir visuomeniniam ugdymui bei ugdymuisi
Lietuviškoji išeivija
Lietuvių Dienos
Lietuvių Enciklopedijos Spaustuvė, 1962
"Lietuvių Fondas 1981 dvidešimties metų sukakties finansinė apyskaita"
Lietuvių kalbos tyrinėjimo istorija iki 1940 m
Lietuvių kalbos vadovas: tartis ir rašybos

kirčiavimas / kalbos dalykai žodynas
Lietuvių Katalikų Studentų Sąjunga
Lietuvių literatūros istorija: nuo Mažydo iki Maironio
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A philosopher and editor, he taught philosophy and psychology at the University of Kaunas (1941-1944). In exile, he earned a doctor's degree in philosophy from the University of Montreal in 1951. His doctoral dissertation "La Metaphysique Existentielle de K. Jaspers" analyzed the philosophy of the existentialist Karl Jaspers. In *Idealas ir laikas*, the author approached the universal needs of modern man from a Christian point of view. In the process, he developed and presented his own philosophical thoughts as related to Salkauskian ideology.

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